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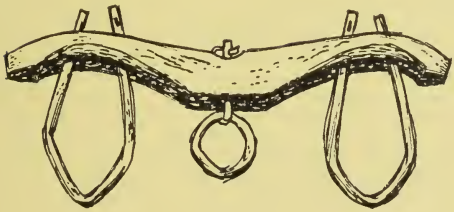

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TO THE MEMORY

OF MY FATHER, HIRAM WILSON, AND OF HIS BROTHERS, JOSEPH, JOHN AND WILLIAM, OF THE PLAIN PEOPLE WHOM, LINCOLN DECLARED, GOD LOVED BECAUSE HE HAD MADE SO MANY OF THEM

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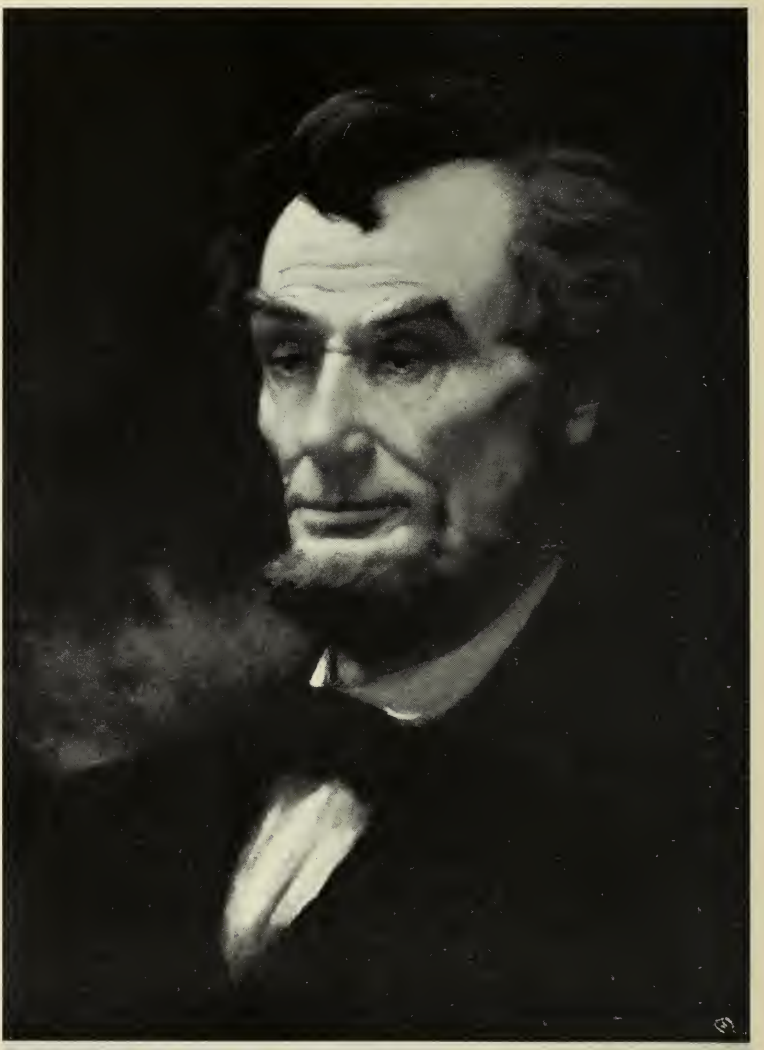

"Lincoln, the ever sympathetic"
Douglas Volk '31 ©

To Rufus R. Wilson
Regards of
D. V.

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WHAT LINCOLN READ

By RUFUS ROCKWELL WILSON

WASHINGTON · D C • February 12 · 1932

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BOYHOOD AND YOUTH • PART ONE

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PREFATORY NOTE

The writer has been from youth to age a diligent and reverent student of any printed or written word throwing light on the processes of slow yet steady growth through which Abraham Lincoln in his last years reached full mental and spiritual stature, and became the supreme American of his period.

These processes are reflected in the present work which deals with what Lincoln read and pondered in a youth of few books and little schooling, and in his after years as lawyer and politician turned statesman. The record here set down cannot claim to be an exhaustive one, but it is as complete and accurate as long and careful searching of the sources now available to the student can make it.

The writer is under obligation to Charles T. White, of Brooklyn, New York, and Harry E. Barker, of Los Angeles, California, for critical readings of his manuscript, and for helpful suggestions offered by them; to Douglas Volk, of Fryeburg, Maine, for generous permission to reproduce perhaps the most appealing of his many fine portraits of Lincoln; to William H. Townsend, of Lexington, Kentucky; M. L. Houser, of Peoria, Illinois, and Oliver R. Barrett, of Chicago, for prompt and kindly responses to requests for help; and last but not least to Otis H. Johnson, for the fine taste displayed by him in planning the format and make-up of What

Lincoln Read, and for the care he has exercised in seeing it through the press and into the hands of its readers.

The writer has now in preparation and hopes to have ready for publication before the end of the present year a monograph, accompanied by appropriate illustrations, on the Masks and Portraits of Lincoln, which will include an account of the work of every painter and sculptor to whom he is known to have given sittings.

R. R. W.

Washington, D. C.
Lincoln's Birthday, 1932.

WHAT LINCOLN READ

Part I—*Boyhood and Youth*

IT WAS a favorite saying of William H. Herndon that his long-time partner, Abraham Lincoln, read less and thought more than any other man of his generation. Phrased in another way, reading and meditation on what he read were, in a very real sense, Lincoln's education. They took the place of the regular schooling denied him; and so each book falling into his hands opened new vistas of thought and, when mastered, never failed to become a quickening part of his mental and spiritual endowment.

There was, first of all, the Bible, which became for him not only a guide to right living but the basis also of the literary style that reached full flower in the Gettysburg Address and the Second Inaugural. One of Lincoln's earliest memories he once told a friend was of the young mother soon to be taken from him and of the verses from the Psalms which, having read and committed to memory, she re-

cited as she went about her daily tasks. Later it was his gentle, self-sacrificing stepmother, Sarah Bush, who, although she could read with comparative ease, never learned to write, when the growing lad had learned to read, prompted his first journey through the pages of the Bible.

Following Lincoln's first nomination for the Presidency in May, 1860, John Locke Scripps, then editor of the *Chicago Press and Tribune*, journeyed to New York and collaborated with Horace Greeley in the authentic campaign life issued without delay by the *New York Tribune* and the *Chicago Press and Tribune*. This now rare pamphlet, for which Lincoln himself furnished much of the source material, refers to his mother as a "ready reader," and adds that "it was her custom on the Sabbath, when there was no religious worship in the neighborhood—a thing of frequent occurrence—to employ a portion of the day in reading the Scriptures aloud to her family. After Abraham and his sister had learned to read they shared by turn in the duty of Sunday reading. This practice, continued faithfully through a series of years, could not fail to produce certain effects. Among other things its tendency was to impart an active acquaintance

with Bible history and Bible teaching; and it must also have been largely instrumental in developing the religious element in the character of the younger members of the family. The facts correspond with this hypothesis. There are few men in public life so familiar with the Scriptures as Mr. Lincoln."

It was a familiar part of the pulpit advice Lincoln must often have heard in his boyhood that if one beginning on New Year's Day read three chapters each week day and seven on the Sabbath he would on the closing day of the year find himself reading the last chapter of the Revelation of John. No doubt Lincoln followed this or a similar practice when in 1818 his father, Thomas Lincoln, bought his first Bible. (1) He read and reread the book from first page to last, committing memorable verses and longer passages, which in after years were sure to leap into his thought when the particular need of the moment called for their use. He quoted from the Bible in his letters, his talks to juries and his political speeches, and now and again made it the servant of a sense of humor that could be ironic as well as whimsical. When a friend told him that at the Cleveland convention of the

discontented which in 1864 nominated John C. Fremont for the Presidency, (2), although a multitude was expected, there were not more than four hundred present, he read these words by way of comment: "And everyone that was in distress, and everyone that was in debt, and everyone that was discontented gathered themselves unto him, and he became a captain over them; and there were with him about four hundred men." (3)

Again, in reply to the demand for the unsparing punishment of the Confederate leaders at the close of the war between the states, Lincoln quoted the words of David to his nephews, when they called for vengeance on Shimei, because he had cursed the Lord's anointed: "What have I to do with you, ye sons of Zarniah, that ye should this day be adversaries unto me? Shall there any man be put to death this day in Israel?" (4)

And on occasion Lincoln could make even gentler use of his knowledge of the Bible. Called during his later years in Springfield to draw the will of a dying woman, he was asked, when his task was finished, to read from the Bible. The Book was handed him, but, waving it aside, he recited from memory the sublime assurances of the Twenty-

third Psalm; "Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil; for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff, they comfort me." And then, still without taking the Bible, he repeated the opening verses of the Fourteenth Chapter of John: "Let not your heart be troubled: ye believe in God, believe also in Me. In my Father's house are many mansions: if it were not so, I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you. And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again, and receive you unto myself; that where I am, there ye may be also." (5)

And there is evidence that the Bible was Lincoln's constant and helpful companion during his troubled years in the White House. Joshua Speed, closest friend of his early Springfield days, being in Washington in the summer of 1864, was invited out to the Soldiers' Home to spend the night. Entering the President's room unannounced, he found him seated near a window, intently reading the Bible.

"I am glad to see you so profitably engaged," said Speed.

"Yes," was the reply, "I am profitably engaged."

"When I knew you in early life," continued Speed, "you were a skeptic and so was I. If you have recovered from your skepticism, I am sorry to say I have not."

"You are wrong, Speed," said the President, placing his hand on his friend's shoulder and gazing earnestly into his face. "Take all of this book upon reason that you can, and the balance on faith, and you will live and die a happier man." (6)

It is possible that the Bible Speed found his old friend reading was one his mother had given Lincoln when in 1841 he visited for several weeks at their home in Louisville. Lincoln was then suffering from the acute and prolonged attack of melancholia which followed the strange breaking off his first engagement to Mary Todd—"the most miserable man living" he had written of himself a few months before—and it was to comfort and fortify him that Mrs. Speed presented him with an Oxford Bible. Lincoln never ceased to cherish the memory of her kindness and twenty years later sent her his photograph with a signed inscription recalling her gift. (7)

Former Vice-President Stevenson in his "Something of Men I Have Known" tells a characteristic

story of Lincoln's familiarity with the Bible. He had it from John B. Henderson, during the Civil War and Reconstruction periods a member of the Senate from Missouri. Calling on the President one Sunday afternoon in the troubled early summer of 1862, Senator Henderson found him alone in his library and in a mood of profound depression. They talked for a few moments on the topics of the hour, and then Lincoln said:

"They are making every effort, Henderson, to persuade me that I should issue a Proclamation of Emancipation without further delay. Sumner and Wilson and Stevens are constantly urging me to do so, but I feel that the time is not yet ripe for such action. What do you think about it?"

"You are right, Mr. President," was the Senator's reply. "Until conditions at the front change for the better, such a measure would be ill-advised and might prove disastrous."

"That is just what I think," said the President, "but they are constantly coming and urging me, sometimes alone, sometimes in couples, sometimes all three together, but constantly pressing me."

At this point Lincoln rose from his chair, and crossed the room to a window that commanded the

approach to the White House. Then he called Henderson to his side, and pointed to Stevens, Sumner and Wilson advancing from Pennsylvania Avenue. After a moment's silent inspection of the trio, a whimsical smile stole over the President's face, and he asked:

"Henderson, did you ever attend an old blab school? Yes? Well, so did I, and what little schooling I got in early life was in that way. I attended such a school in a log school-house in Indiana where we had no reading books or grammars, and all our reading was done from the Bible. We stood in a long line and read in turn from it. One day our lesson was the story of the three Hebrew children and their escape from the fiery furnace. It fell to a little tow-headed fellow who stood next to me to read for the first time the verse with the unpronounceable names. He made a sorry mess of Shadrach and Meshach, and went all to pieces on Abednego. Whereupon the master boxed his ears until he sobbed aloud. Then the lesson went on, each boy in the class reading a verse in turn. Finally the tow-headed boy stopped crying, but only to fix his gaze upon the verses ahead, and set up a yell of surprise and alarm. The master demanded the

THE

FIRST WHITE MAN OF THE WEST,

OR THE

LIFE AND EXPLOITS OF

COL. DAN'L. BOONE,

THE FIRST SETTLER OF KENTUCKY;

INTERSPERSED WITH INCIDENTS

IN THE

EARLY ANNALS OF THE COUNTRY.

BY TIMOTHY FLINT.

CINCINNATI:
APPLEGATE & COMPANY,
43 MAIN STREET.
1854.

REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF THE CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

reason for this unexpected outbreak. 'Look there, master,' said the boy, pointing his finger at the verse which in a few moments he would be expected to read, and at the three proper names which it contained, 'There comes them same damn three fellows again!' " (8)

On this occasion, as on earlier ones, neither the senators from Massachusetts nor the Republican leader of the House were able to move the President to early action; but a little later when conditions had changed, as recorded in another place, the Emancipation Proclamation was given to the world.

In Kentucky and later in Indiana the boy Lincoln had a total of less than a year of schooling. The text-books which he used during this scant period call for a word. They included, besides the Bible, Dilworth's Spelling Book, then Webster's Old Blueback, Pike's Arithmetic, (8a) a song book and Lindley Murray's English Reader. The volume last named, Lincoln, according to Herndon, was wont in after years to declare "the best school book ever put into the hands of an American youth," and the reader who in these latter times turns its two hundred pages divided between

Pieces in Prose and Pieces in Poetry will be inclined to agree with him. (9)

Murray in his preface thus explains his purpose: "To improve youth in the art of reading; to meliorate their language and sentiments; and to inculcate some of the most important principles of piety and virtue." There follows an introduction which treats in detail of Proper Loudness of Voice; Distinctness; Slowness; Propriety of Pronunciation; Emphasis; Tones, Pauses, and Mode of Reading Verse. The prose includes passages from the essays of Addison, Johnson and Goldsmith, from the speeches of Cicero and Lord Mansfield and from the Epistles of Paul. There are also numerous quotations from the Bible, and the author explains that he has been "solicitous to recommend to young persons the perusal of the Sacred Scriptures, by interspersing passages of those invaluable writings. To excite an early taste and veneration for this great rule of life is a point of so high importance as to warrant the attempt to promote it on every occasion."

Murray's English Reader also contains many proverbs and adages, cited in most cases, however,

without the names of their authors. Here are a few that must have had an especial appeal for the boy Lincoln:

"I consider a human soul without education like marble in a quarry; which shows none of its inherited beauties until the skill of the polisher fetches out the colours."

"Revenge dwells in little minds."

"Gentleness corrects whatever is offensive in our manners; and by a constant train of humane attentions studies to alleviate the burden of common misery."

"In judging others, let us always think the best and employ the spirit of charity and candor. But in judging of ourselves, we ought to be exact and severe."

"Diligence, industry and proper improvement of time are material duties of the young."

"Sincerity and truth form the basis of every virtue."

"To maintain a steady and unbroken mind, amid all the shocks of the world, marks a great and noble spirit."

"When upon rational and sober inquiry we have established our principles, let us not suffer them to

be shaken by the scoffs of the licentious, or the cavils of the skeptical."

"What avails the show of external liberty, to one who has lost the government of himself?"

When in the closing days of December, 1819, Sarah Bush journeyed from Kentucky to Indiana as Thomas Lincoln's second wife the modest belongings she carried with her included three books which were to be read and re-read by her ten-year-old stepson, and contribute in ample measure to his education. These were Robinson Crusoe, Pilgrim's Progress and Aesop's Fables. DeFoe's undying hero had the same lure for Lincoln that he has had for seven generations of boys; the attitude of mind in which Bunyan takes leave of Christian helped after more than half a century to shape the thought and phrasing of the Second Inaugural, while it is not too much to say that the collection of fables assembled by the Greek slave known as Aesop more profoundly influenced Lincoln than any other book, the Bible, of course, excepted.

For the growing lad on Pigeon Creek in Spencer County, Indiana, his pioneer environment, with the domestic animals which were a part of every frontier home and the wild life of wood, field and

dell, gave to Aesop's fables, as he read them again and again, an intimate reality beyond the reach of most modern boys, denied the high privilege of knowing Nature at first hand. In truth it is easy to believe that it was mainly due to long and loving knowledge of the heart and mind of Aesop that as a maker of parables in the form of stories—brief, apt and charged with garlic savor—Lincoln came in due course to hold a unique and individual place among the men of his time. During the same early period, at the home of a neighbor, David Turnham, of whom more in another place, young Lincoln also read and found delight in Sinbad the Sailor, a condensed version of the Arabian Nights. (9a)

There were few book owners in the Southern Indiana of Lincoln's time, but there is substance in the tradition that he sought out, borrowed and read most of the volumes to be found within a wide radius of his home. (10) Among them were Franklin's Autobiography, with its modestly told story of a many-sided career; Weems's lives of Marion and Washington and Ramsey's Life of Washington, of which Lincoln became the owner through an accident. He borrowed it from Josiah

Crawford, a young farmer of the neighborhood, who had brought the book from Kentucky. When it was damaged by rain, which beat through an unchinked crack in the logs to its resting-place on a shelf in the Lincoln cabin, he voluntarily pulled fodder for three days at twenty-five cents a day to pay for it.

And we have his own word for it that he wrested a fine and lasting profit from these volumes of Weems and Ramsey. A later generation refuses to take seriously "A History of the Life and Death, Virtues and Exploits of General George Washington, with Curious Anecdotes, Equally Honorable to Himself and Exemplary to His Young Countrymen," to give the book its full title, but its pompous, highly colored story of the career of a leader who played a mighty part in a time that tried men's souls reached deep places in Lincoln, then in his twenty-first year. Thirty-two years later, in addressing as President-elect the Senate of the State of New Jersey, he paid his tribute to it:

"May I be pardoned if, upon this occasion, I mention that away back in my childhood, the earliest days of my being able to read"—here the speaker's memory played him false as to time and

place—"I got hold of a small book, such a one as few of the younger members have ever seen—Weems's Life of Washington. I remember all the accounts there given of the battlefields and struggles for the liberties of the country, and none fixed themselves upon my imagination so deeply as the struggle here at Trenton, New Jersey. The crossing of the river, the contest with the Hessians, the great hardships endured at that time, all fixed themselves on my memory more than any single Revolutionary event; and you all know, for you have all been boys, how these early impressions last longer than others. I recollect thinking then, boy even though I was, that there must have been something more than common that these men struggled for."

Here is the account by Weems of Washington's advance on Trenton, to which Lincoln referred and which made such a lasting impression upon him:

"Washington and his little forlorn hope pressed on through the darksome night, pelted by an incessant storm of hail and snow. On approaching the river nine miles above Trenton, they heard the unwelcome roar of ice, loud crashing along the angry flood. But the object before them was too

vast to allow one thought about difficulties. The troops were instantly embarked, and, after five hours of infinite toil and danger, landed, some of them frostbitten, on the same shores with the enemy. Forming a line they renewed their march. Pale, and slowly moving along the neighboring hills was seen (by Fancy's eye) the weeping genius of liberty. Driven from the rest of the world, she fled to the wild woods of America, as an assured asylum of rest. Here she fondly hoped, through long unfailing time, to see her children pursuing cheerful toils unstarved and uncrushed by the inhuman few! But alas! the inhuman few, with fleets and armies, had pursued her flight! Her sons had gathered around her, but they had failed —some on their bloody beds; others dispersed; all desponding. One little band alone remained! and now, resolved to defend her or perish, were in rapid march to face her foe. Pale and in tears, with eyes often lifted to Heaven she moved along with her children to witness perhaps the last conflict.

"The Sun had just tipped with gold the adjacent hills when snowy Trenton, with the wide tented fields of the foe, hove in sight. To the young in arms this was an awful scene: and nature called

a short lived terror to their hearts. . . . Thus steadily rode Columbia's first and greatest son along the front of his halting troops. The eager wish for battle flushed over his burning face as, rising on his stirrups, he raised his sword towards the hostile camp, and exclaimed 'There! my brave friends! are the enemies of your country! and now, all I ask of you, is, just to remember what you are about to fight for. March!' His looks and voice rekindled all their fire, and drove them undaunted to the charge. The enemy saw the danger when it was too late! but, as if resolved by taxing their courage to pay for their carelessness, they roused the thunder of their drums and flew to arms. But before they could form, the Americans, led on by Washington, advanced upon them in a stream of lightning, which soon decided the contest." (11)

Half a dozen other books, which were read and absorbed by Lincoln during his last years in Indiana, and so played their part in his education, each demand a place in this chronicle. These included Lowe's Columbian Class Book, Grimshaw's History of the United States, Scott's Lessons in Elocution, The Kentucky Preceptor, Dupuy's Song Book, Quinn's Jests, and Bailey's Etymo-

HISTORY

OF THE

UNITED STATES,

FROM

THEIR FIRST SETTLEMENT AS COLONIES,

TO

THE PERIOD OF THE FIFTH CENSUS, IN 1830.

COMPRISING

Every Important Political Event; with a Progressive View of the Aborigines; Population, Agriculture, and Commerce; of the Arts, Sciences, and Literature; and Occasional Biographies of the most Remarkable Colonists, Writers and Philosophers, Warriors and Statesmen.

ACCOMPANIED BY A BOOK OF QUESTIONS AND A KEY.

BY WILLIAM GRIMSHAW,

Author of a History of England, &c.

PHILADELPHIA:

GRIGG & ELLIOTT, No. 9 NORTH FOURTH STREET.

1836.

logical Dictionary. Some of these volumes Lincoln read to such good purpose that he could repeat word for word the parts that most appealed to him. "When he came across a passage that struck him," his stepmother long afterward told Jesse W. Weik, "he would write it down on boards if he had no paper and keep it there till he did get paper; then he would rewrite it, look at it, repeat it. He had a copy book, a kind of scrapbook, in which he put down all things and thus preserved them."

William Grimshaw's History of the United States, which, following its original publication in Philadelphia, ran through fifteen large editions, held an individual place among more than a dozen books of its kind issued prior to 1825 and was a fortunate find for the growing lad on Pigeon Creek. The first chapter dealt with the existing condition of the world as reflected in astronomy, geography and navigation. Subsequent chapters told of the discovery of America, the founding and growth of the colonies, the causes and course of the Revolution, and the history of the republic down to the cession of Florida to the United

States. A final chapter reviewed the progress of America in literature, science and art. The pages of Grimshaw's modest volume are charged throughout with hatred of slavery and of intolerance in every form, and so played their part in forming the moral and political creed of a future President. (12)

Lincoln likewise obtained much in the way of general culture from Lessons in Elocution, or Selection of Pieces in Prose and Verse for the Improvement of Youth in Reading and Speaking by William Scott of Edinburgh. This book in its opening pages deals with the art of public speaking. The Scotch schoolmaster rightly stresses the importance of logical clearness and close-knit continuity in the development of a plea or argument and of directness, simplicity and composure in delivery; and his advice and instructions clearly had much to do with the shaping of a method and manner of speech which in after years gave Lincoln a place apart among the orators of his generation. Scott's Lessons also contained short essays on character and conduct and excerpts from famous poems and speeches, which included liberal

quotations from Shakespeare, Cicero and Chatham, and fell on fertile soil when read and pondered by Lincoln. (12a)

The Kentucky Preceptor, a school reader compiled by an unknown hand, is similar in contents to Scott's Lessons. The copy studied by Lincoln, a part of a third edition, published at Lexington, Kentucky, in 1821, was loaned him by Josiah Crawford, whose widow many years later gave it to Herndon. It is now in the collection of Oliver R. Barrett of Chicago. In his preface the nameless compiler of the Preceptor informs his readers that "tales of love, or romantic fiction, or anything which might tend to instill false notions in the minds of children have not gained admission" to it. Instead it contained, besides excerpts from English playwrights and poets, salutary essays On the Scriptures as a Rule of Life, on Remorse of Conscience, Credulity, Haughtiness, Industry and Indulgence; and yet another on Liberty and Slavery, but with no reference to negro slavery as it then existed in the United States, and finally the full text of Jefferson's first inaugural, anecdotes of Indians, and the speech of Robert Emmet telling why the English government should not put an

Irish patriot to death. A varied feast, but no part of it could have had a stronger appeal for young Lincoln than this passage from the pen of Jefferson: "If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union, or change its republican form, let them stand as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it."

Dupuy's Song Book was the collection of hymns most often used by the frontier congregations of a century ago, but it did not have the allure for young Lincoln possessed by the volume of jokes which he delighted to read in the woods on Sunday afternoons to his Spencer County mates, and which one of them in old age fondly but mistakenly recalled as the King's Jester. No trace, despite careful searching, has been found of a book bearing this title; but there is now in the British Museum a volume of jests published in London in 1766 and styled Quinn's Jests or the Facetious Man's Pocket Companion, containing species of Wit, Humor and Repartee; and experts agree that it was this book, or a reprint of it in two parts, published in Philadelphia in 1789, which in some way came into Lincoln's hands and was read by

him surreptitiously to his boyhood companions. It is made up of stories and jests supposed to have been fathered and first given currency by the English actor, James Quinn. (13) The wit is wooden, and the jests often so rankly indecent as to forbid reprinting. Still it is to be recalled, not as an excuse, but as an explanation, that the humor most in favor on the frontier in the opening decades of the last century more often than not was of the coarsest sort. And to this source may also be traced Lincoln's youthful delight in a certain type of story—a delight which in lessening measure remained with him to the end, often disturbing and embarrassing staid associates, men who otherwise were quick to discern and defend his moral fiber and the rare quality of his manhood.

When in 1823 Levi Hall, who married Nancy Hanks, aunt of Nancy Lincoln, moved from Kentucky to Pigeon Creek, he carried with him a copy of Bailey's Etymological Dictionary, which Mordecai Lincoln had purchased a generation before from a Lexington merchant, and which at once became the constant and helpful companion of his fourteen-year-old nephew. This book is now owned in St. Louis and on its inside cover is written prob-

ably in the handwriting of Mordecai Lincoln's son Abraham: "Abraham Lincoln, his book, bought in the year of our Lord 1795." Bailey's Dictionary was first published in 1721, and, before it gave way to later and more complete efforts in the same field, was reprinted more than a score of times. Tradition has it that the younger Pitt studied it word for word, and there is also proof that the great Dr. Johnson made diligent use of an interleaved copy of it in the compilation of his own better known but in some ways inferior work. In considering the books read by Lincoln in his teens it is well to remember that he had Bailey's Dictionary to help him to a clear understanding of their contents. (14)

Still another book which was read and pondered by Lincoln during the years he spent in Indiana played a large part in his mental growth, since from its pages he first secured a reasonable grasp of the elements of law and government. One of the men for whom he worked now and then was David Turnham, a young farmer from Tennessee who lived near Grandview on the Ohio, a few miles from Pigeon Creek. Turnham was also a justice of the peace, and as such the owner of a copy of the Revised Laws of Indiana, a portly volume of

nearly five hundred closely printed pages, which Lincoln, in spare hours passed at the home of his friend, read and re-read with the greatest care. It contained, besides the laws then in force in Indiana, the Declaration of Independence, the Federal Constitution, Dane's Ordinance for the Government of the Territory Northwest of the Ohio, and the first Constitution of Indiana. These documents gave Lincoln the first principles of political science; they taught him also the rights of men and states, and they became in due time a part of him for use and service. David Turnham remained Lincoln's lifelong friend and was one of the first in 1860 to congratulate him upon his nomination for the Presidency. The book he loaned Lincoln is now in the possession of William H. Townsend of Lexington, Kentucky, author of an interesting and suggestive volume on Lincoln the Litigant. It could not have more fitting ownership. (15)

When young Lincoln lived with his father on Pigeon Creek, the favorite resort of his leisure hours was the general store kept after 1827 by William Jones in the nearby village of Gentryville. Jones was a man of parts who in the Civil War rose from the ranks to the command of an Indiana

History of this book

In the year 1845 I was in Spencer County Indiana, Lincoln's old home, gathering up the facts of Young Abraham's life. I then and there became acquainted with David Turnham - merchant and a man of intelligence - a pleasant gentleman - school fellow - associate and fast friend of Mr Lincoln who gave me at the time and place, a good history, of Young Lincoln. I took the history down as he rehearsed it at the time. At the conclusion of our business he asked me if I would like to have some relic of Mr Lincoln and to which I said, I should like to have such relic very much: He thereupon gave me this book, stating to me that it was the first law book that Lincoln procured. I now present this sacred relic to the Lincoln Memorial Collection. Chicago May 18th 85

Wm H. Herndon

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. In Congress, July 4th, 1776.

THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

(REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF WILLIAM H. TOWNSEND)

regiment and fell in action before Atlanta during Sherman's Georgia campaign. (16) He early became Lincoln's helpful friend, and saw to it that the tall stripling had regular opportunity to read and digest the two or three newspapers to which he was a subscriber. One of these was the *Louisville Journal,* which its founder, George D. Prentice, had lately made the leading paper of the West as well as an outstanding champion of the Whig Party and its leader, Henry Clay. (16a)

In the columns of the *Journal* and in those of the *Telescope,* a religious weekly published in New York, and of a Cincinnati weekly, devoted to the cause of temperance—both loaned him by another neighbor, William Wood—Lincoln read the speeches of Clay, Benton and other public men, along with editorial comment on the issues and signs of the times, and in so doing shaped and matured the political views which were to make him first a Whig, and then a founder and leader of the Republican Party. Thus it was probably in the *Journal* that in February, 1830, just before the family migration to Illinois, he read Webster's reply to Hayne, with its lofty pledge of "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable":

The reading of that great speech must have been one of the red-letter events in the early life of Lincoln, in whom its splendid plea for an undivided Union was in the fulness of time to find its fit and immortal exemplar. (17)

LATER YEARS • PART TWO

Part II—*Later Years*

THE first Illinois home of the Lincoln family was in Macon County, ten miles west of the town of Decatur. Major John Warnick, then sheriff of the county, owned a large farm on the opposite side of the Sangamon River from the Lincolns. During the winter of 1830–31, long remembered in Illinois as the Winter of the Big Snow, Lincoln, while attempting to cross the Sangamon, had his canoe upset in midstream, and came out of the misadventure with a pair of badly frozen feet. Whereupon Major Warnick received him into his roomy house by the river, and Barton gives a diverting glimpse of the disabled giant sprawled before the fireplace, and until his frozen feet should heal, devoting his days and evenings to a volume of the Statutes of Illinois, owned by his host and perhaps the first book to fall into his hands in his new home. (18)

A few weeks later came the meeting with Denton Offutt, the dreamer and boaster who was to play a whimsical yet fateful part in the shaping of Lincoln's career, and then the beginning of the

six-year sojourn at New Salem, that village of hope and failure which has been aptly styled Lincoln's Alma Mater. During half of his stay in New Salem, Lincoln, as we know, was postmaster of the village and as such had first chance at the newspapers which came to its citizens.

They included, besides that old companion of his Gentryville days, the *Louisville Journal*, the *Cincinnati Gazette;* the *Sangamo Journal*, published at Springfield by Simeon Francis, (19) soon to become his devoted friend, and the *National Intelligencer*, which came every week from Washington and as the organ of the National Republican Party was perhaps the journal most admired by Lincoln. In them he gained intimate knowledge of the men and measures of Jackson's stormy Presidency, including the great Proclamation which put an end to nullification in South Carolina, and which a generation later was to furnish the model for Lincoln's First Inaugural.

But newspapers furnished only a part of Lincoln's mental food at New Salem. During his first years in the village he also borrowed and read Rollin's Ancient History, Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Volney's Ruins of

Empire, and Paine's Age of Reason—three of which helped to the free thinking now and then in evidence during his early manhood. (20) It is probable that Lincoln borrowed the volumes of Rollins and Gibbon from Bennett Abell, who was one of the few book owners of New Salem, and that in the cabin of the latter he also gave many hours to earnest perusal of a third volume entitled American Military Biography. (21) When Mentor Graham, the New Salem schoolmaster with whom he was boarding at the time, stressed a knowledge of grammar as an essential part of an ambitious man's education, he walked half a dozen miles to borrow from its farmer owner a copy of Kirkham's Grammar and then studied it to such good purpose that within a few weeks he knew its rules by heart. Again, according to Henry B. Rankin, it was while living at New Salem that Lincoln studied Blair's Rhetoric, perhaps in collaboration with Ann Rutledge. (22)

Moreover, when his divers efforts at storekeeping ended in failure he procured from John Calhoun, the county surveyor, a copy of Gibson's Theory and Practice of Surveying, and with Graham once more as his tutor toiled over its

pages and problems at all hours of the day and night, so that within six weeks he was accounted adequate to discharge the duties of assistant to Calhoun, and was forthwith appointed to that office. Nor were his surveying trips other than momentary breaks in the study and reading of a taxing and intensive sort which made this a period of rapid and steady growth. Never again, to borrow Beveridge's telling phrase, did Lincoln think more deeply on fundamentals than during these years at New Salem. (22a)

His love and mastery of Shakespeare, Burns and Byron also date from the New Salem period. Jack Kelso, with whose much-enduring wife Lincoln boarded for a short time, was a village never-do-well but also a philosopher of sorts and could "recite Burns and Shakespeare by the hour." Lincoln was fond of Kelso, and with him read Shakespeare, Burns and Byron. Burns' Holy Willy's Prayer and Address to the Unco Guid—the latter, his friend James Matheny declared clearly stated his earlier views on religion—he learned by heart and often recited in later years. He was also fond of Byron's Childe Harold, Mazeppa and Bride of Abydos, and committed to memory long passages from these

poems. Shakespeare, however, early became and remained until the end Lincoln's favorite among the master poets. He committed vast stretches of the great dramas; in after years carried a single-volume edition of them when he rode circuit; read them aloud and in conference, sometimes to the annoyance of lesser minds, and, like Washington, who in letters quotes from half the plays, made reverent use of Shakespeare for common needs. There is a strange note of the prophetic in the fact that in the very week of his assassination Lincoln, on a steamer returning from Richmond, read to Charles Sumner these lines from Macbeth's speech on his murdered King:

Besides this Duncan
Hath borne his faculties so meek, hath been
So clear in his great office, that his virtues
Will plead like angels trumpet tongued, against
The deep damnation of his taking off.

Finally it was at New Salem Lincoln won the knowledge of Blackstone that confirmed a long cherished resolve to become a lawyer. There are two versions of how the famous Commentaries on the Laws of England fell into his hands. According to Isaac N. Arnold, one of his earliest biographers,

he bought a second hand copy at a sale he chanced to attend in Springfield. Another account, still current in Sangamon County and accepted by many Lincoln authorities, has a more piquant touch to it. A westward-bound mover, having a barrel of junk which took up too much room in his wagon, for fifty cents sold it to Lincoln, the store keeper, who to his surprised delight found among its contents a well-thumbed copy of the Commentaries. (23)

There may be doubt as to how Lincoln secured the precious volume, but there is abundant evidence that he made quick and fruitful use of it. Day in and day out, often indifferent to the customers who came and went, he poured over its pages until he had mastered the last of them. Bowling Green, New Salem's fat and jolly justice of the peace, (24) owned a few law books, and, when Lincoln had finished with Blackstone, a study of these and copies of the master works of Greenleaf, Chitty and Story, borrowed from Major John T. Stuart of Springfield, (25) who had been his comrade in the Black Hawk War and was to become his first law partner, completed his preparation for the bar. It is uncertain when Lincoln made ac-

quaintance with the Commentaries on American Law by Chancellor James Kent, but there is no doubt that they played a weighty part in his training as a lawyer. Years later, in the course of one of the two set speeches delivered by him during his single term in Congress, he quoted from them at length, and referred to their author as "one of the ablest and most learned lawyers of his age, or of any age." (26)

In 1837 Lincoln settled in Springfield and began the practice of law. In his new home there was no break in the newspaper reading habit he had begun in Gentryville and continued at New Salem. From the first he frequented the office and freely ranged the exchanges of the *Sangamo Journal*, to whose editorial columns he early became and long continued a regular contributor. The *Journal* printed and Lincoln read all of the great state papers of the time, as well as the speeches of such leaders in Congress as Webster, Clay, Benton and Calhoun. "He was a great admirer," his old friend Joshua Speed wrote in later years to Herndon, "of the style of John C. Calhoun. I remember reading to him one of Mr. Calhoun's speeches in reply to Mr. Clay in the Senate, in which Mr. Clay had

quoted precedent. Calhoun replied that 'to legislate upon precedent is but to make the error of yesterday the law of today,' Lincoln thought that a great truth greatly uttered." (27)

Lincoln in this period of growth also dipped into any worth-while book that came his way. A study of Milton's verse, much of which he committed to memory, belongs to his first days in Springfield, while he continued to read Shakespeare, Burns and Byron. As in earlier years, he learned, too, from familiar converse with his fellows, and was at his best when the room he shared with Speed over the latter's store became of evenings the meeting place of a few choice spirits whose talk ranged from law and literature to politics and religion. The melancholy, however, which had now become a part of the man, was often in evidence, and one of the poems which he committed to memory and recited more frequently than any other was the doleful Mortality of William Knox, a Scotch poet who died young, best known by its opening line, "Oh, why should the spirit of mortal be proud?" When in 1846, a friend, to whom he had sent a copy of this poem, asked by letter who had written it, intimating that Lincoln was the author, the latter

replied that he was not, and added: "I would give all I am worth, and go in debt, to be able to write so fine a piece as I think that is." A copy of Mortality in Lincoln's handwriting is in the collection of Oliver R. Barrett. Its authorship was finally revealed to him by General James Grant Wilson, when they met during the Civil War. (28)

A noteworthy incident of Lincoln's earlier years as a lawyer and politician, an incident which did much to shape his views on public questions and his final methods as an orator, was an address by William H. Seward, then Governor of New York, to which he listened in Boston on September 22, 1848, while himself speaking for the Whig cause through New England. Seward's was the restrained eloquence of the great orator, and his method and manner of speaking, as well as the forward-looking yet tolerant content of his address, had a profound and immediate influence on Lincoln. "I have been thinking about what you said in your speech," he said to Seward next day. "I reckon you are right. We have got to deal with this slavery question." Thereafter it was a different and nobler Lincoln who addressed his fellows from the platform and in public debate. (29)

The five years that followed Lincoln's return in 1849 from his single term in Congress were for him another period of growth and severe mental discipline. He resumed the study of the Elements of Euclid which he had begun soon after his marriage, mastered its definitions and axioms, and carried it with him on circuit, along with his Shakespeare, and treatises on geometry and civics. He also studied Day's Algebra, Olmstead's Astronomy, and Neilson's Exercises in Greek, and for a short time was member of a class in German. And he gave many hours to the essays of Francis Bacon. Not all of his reading, however, was of a serious nature. A copy of Joe Miller's Jests occasionally went with him on circuit, and to his fellow lawyers when they foregathered of an evening he delighted to read choice passages from Baldwin's Flush Times in Alabama, the Southern humorist's chapter on Cave Burton, Esq., of Kentucky being an especial favorite with him. (30)

William H. Herndon, who became Lincoln's law partner in 1844, (31) was a constant buyer and omnivorous reader of books—Rankin says he bought more of them than any other resident of Springfield—and in his library the elder man

dipped into, and possibly read as the mood prompted him, the works of Locke, Kant and Fichte—this statement, however, is based on somewhat doubtful authority; the essays of Emerson and the Sermons and Speeches of Theodore Parker, who was Herndon's friend and correspondent and who through that channel was to indirectly but more than once decisively influence Lincoln's thought and utterances. One of Parker's lectures dealing with the effect of slavery on the American people contained the sentence, "Democracy is direct self-government over all the people, for all the people, by all the people." These words, which Lincoln marked with a pencil, lingered in his memory, and a few years later were given loftier phrasing in the "government for the people, of the people and by the people" of his Gettysburg Address. (32)

When Herndon brought to the office the current volume of the Annual of Scientific Discovery edited by David A. Wells from 1850 to 1871, Lincoln was greatly pleased with it and at once purchased a copy of it. (33) "I have wanted such a book for years," he told Herndon, "because I sometimes make experiments and have thoughts

about the physical world that I do not know to be true or false. I may, by this book, correct my errors, and save time and expense." Lincoln also borrowed and read Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation by Robert Chambers, described by its author as a "first attempt to connect the natural sciences with the history of creation," and when his partner bought a later edition of the book he carefully re-read it, finding in it proof of what he called "miracles under law." (34)

Herndon through all his mature years was an avowed agnostic, and rarely failed to procure any book put forth by a maker of liberal thought. Thus, from time to time, Lincoln, if the statements of one of his latest biographers are to be accepted, was given and took advantage of an opportunity to sample the quality of such works as Gregg's Creed of Christendom, McNaught's Inspiration and Fuerbach's Essence of Christianity, a volume four score years ago held in high regard by the liberals of Germany and other lands, but which now gathers dust on library shelves. (35) A book of a different order which claimed Lincoln's attention during the period under review was The Christian's Defense—an imposing work on the evidences of

Christianity by the Reverend James Smith, long pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Springfield. (36)

Lincoln was impressed by its arguments, but, when asked to follow his wife's example and join its author's church, declared that he "could not quite see it." Perhaps he found a stronger appeal to reason in Hitchcock's Religious Truth, Bailey's Theology and Paley's Natural Theology, which he procured and read in the years preceding his election to the Presidency; and there is no doubt that he was enlarged and enriched by Butler's Analogy of Religion, and by the tolerant spirit reflected in the sermons of William Ellery Channing, a collection of which his Quaker friend, Jesse W. Fell, about this time bought and gave to him. (37)

Etymology in its broader phases strongly attracted Lincoln, and his old friend Joseph Gillespie, who was surprised to find the results of his studies in that field both "interesting and instructive," is also authority for the statement that he gave much time and thought to the preparation of a lecture on the origin and growth of speech. He was, on the other hand, at least in the years of his maturity, an indifferent and infrequent student of history.

He thought it as "generally written," Gillespie again bears witness, "altogether too unreliable"; and his serious study of it was confined in the main to the long contest waged by the Netherlands against Spain, to the English revolution of 1640 and 1688, and to our own seven years' struggle for independence. (38)

And an incident related by Herndon, as occurring in 1856, indicates that Lincoln in middle life grew to doubt also the impartiality, if not the accuracy, of the average biography. "Biographies as written are false and misleading," he told his partner, when the latter, who had lately bought a Life of Burke, urged him to read it. "The author of the life of his hero," Lincoln continued, "paints him as a perfect man—magnifies his perfections and suppresses his imperfections—describes the success of his hero in glowing terms, never once hinting at his failures and blunders. Why do not book merchants and sellers have blank biographies on their shelves always ready for sale so that when a man dies, if his heirs, children and friends wish to perpetuate the memory of the dead, they can purchase one all ready, *but with blanks* which they can fill up eloquently and grandly at pleasure, thus

ENGLISH GRAMMAR

IN

FAMILIAR LECTURES,

ACCOMPANIED BY

A COMPENDIUM;

EMBRACING

A NEW SYSTEMATIC ORDER OP PARSING,

EXERCISES IN FALSE SYNTAX, A NEW SYSTEM OF PUNCTUATION,

AND

A KEY TO THE EXERCISES

DESIGNED

FOR THE USE OF PRIVATE LEARNERS AND SCHOOLS.

BY SAMUEL KIRKHAM.

THIRD EDITION:

Enlarged and much improved.

CINCINNATI:

PRINTED BY MORGAN, LODGE, AND FISHER,

FOR THE AUTHOR.

1826.

[TITLE PAGE OF THE EDITION STUDIED BY LINCOLN]

commemorating a lie—an injury to the living and to the name of the dead." The book Lincoln refused to read was probably Sir James Prior's Memoir of Burke, first issued in 1826, but the fifth edition of which had recently been published by Bohn. However, Dr. Daniel Kilham Dodge, author of a thoughtful essay on the evolution of Lincoln's literary style, is of the opinion that it was P. Burke's Life of Burke, published in 1851, and pronounced "utterly valueless" by the Dictionary of National Biography. (39)

A book of an unique and compelling order purchased by Herndon and, according to Henry B. Rankin, read by Lincoln was Whitman's Leaves of Grass, then fresh from the press. One day, after all the other members of the office family had dipped into and discussed the book, Lincoln picked it up and read it for an hour, part of the time aloud. He took it home with him that evening, but brought it back next morning and laid it on the table with the enigmatic remark, as Rankin relates, that it had nearly been "purified by fire." It is to be noted in passing that Mrs. Lincoln, a woman of spirit and uncertain temper, had her own ideas as to literary propriety and the fitness

of things. Lincoln, however, continued to read Leaves of Grass at intervals, usually aloud, and Rankin, (40) a young man of sober ways and reverent thought, records the belief that his "estimate of the poetry differed from any brought out in the office discussion." No doubt it was the robust, confident spirit of Whitman's verse that most appealed to Lincoln. And destiny had strange, high things in store for reader and poet. Within a few years a madman's bullet was to end Lincoln's career at its highest point and Whitman, in Captain O My Captain and When Lilacs Last in the Doorway Bloomed, was to voice the noblest, the most profoundly moving tributes paid to his worth and work. (41)

It is a disputed question as to how large a part Mrs. Lincoln played in her husband's intellectual and spiritual growth, but in this connection mention must be made of a book which he purchased and gave to her—The Elements of Character by Mary G. Chandler. Here and there in the little volume he marked passages that impressed him. One of them, as we know, must have had a meaning of its own for husband and wife: "This union, so sacred that it even supersedes that which

exists between parent and child, should be entered upon only from the purest and highest motives; and then let worldly prosperity come and go as it may, this twain whom God has joined, not by a mere formal ritual of the Church, but by a true spiritual union that man cannot put asunder, are a heaven unto themselves, and peace will ever dwell within their habitation." But there was not always peace in the Lincoln home.

In the period immediately following Lincoln's single term in Congress and his somewhat reluctant return to the practice of law, he took the *Congressional Globe* and the *National Intelligencer*, the latter the acknowledged organ of the Whigs, and in their pages he no doubt read the speeches of Clay, Webster and Calhoun, and of such newcomers to the Senate as Seward, Chase, Douglas and Jefferson Davis, which attended and made memorable the framing and passage of the compromise measures of 1850. Nor did he fail to give equal attention to the utterances at that critical time of leading members of the House.

After the repeal, four years later, of the Missouri Compromise, books and journals dealing with the question of slavery formed in growing measure the

bulk of Lincoln's reading. Either he or Herndon was a subscriber to and read and discussed the contents of the *New York Tribune* and *Chicago Press and Tribune*, (42) Republican papers of the East and West; the *Western Citizen*, organ of the Liberty Party west of the Ohio; *Garrison's Liberator*, the *Anti-Slavery Standard* and the *National Era;* (43) all opposed to slavery; and the *Richmond Inquirer* (44) and *Charleston Mercury*, both able and extreme pro-slavery journals of the South. Mrs. Lincoln, in turn, subscribed to the *Southern Literary Messenger*, (45) and many of the papers by prominent Southern men appearing in its pages were read and pondered by her husband. And from the *Tribune Almanac*, edited by Horace Greeley and issued annually by the *New York Tribune*, Lincoln drew facts and arguments for the speeches which in a space of time that now seems singularly brief were to make him first a sectional and then a national figure.

The early speeches of Lincoln that have been preserved contain no reference to the riots in 1838 at Alton, Illinois, in which Elijah Parish Lovejoy, the militant editor of an abolitionist weekly, was slain and the office of his newspaper looted by a

mob of pro-slavery men; but it is known that he read the indignant and protesting account of them written at the time by another radical abolitionist, the Reverend Edward Beecher, son of Lyman Beecher and brother of Henry Ward Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe, who was then president of Illinois College at Jacksonville, a short thirty miles from Springfield. (46)

Some years later Lincoln had access to Uncle Tom's Cabin: or Life among the Lowly of Mrs. Stowe, when, on the morrow of the enactment by Congress of the Fugitive Slave Law, that moving and dramatic tale had serial publication in the *National Era*, organ of the American Anti-Slavery Society, a copy of which, as already noted, came each week to the office of Lincoln & Herndon. Early in 1852 the story was published in book form, and within a year three hundred thousand copies were absorbed by the American public. Herndon bought one of the first copies offered for sale in Springfield, and it is altogether probable that Lincoln read it in whole or in part. Be this as it may, he heard its contents discussed again and again by people of widely conflicting views, and was keenly aware that it did more to arouse and

sharpen Northern sentiment against slavery "than all that had been or was to be spoken or written on the subject." Thus its author came to be regarded by Lincoln as first among the influences that hastened and made inevitable the war between the sections. "Is this the little woman who made this big war?" he asked when in 1862 Mrs. Stowe called upon him at the White House. An affirmative answer to his question has become, in a limited sense, the reasoned verdict of history. (47)

One of the defenders of slavery moved to argument by Mrs. Stowe's story was the Reverend Frederick Augustus Ross, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Huntsville, Alabama, who in 1857 published a widely circulated pamphlet entitled Slavery as Ordained of God. It was read by Lincoln, who found in its interpretation of the divine will material for a telling passage in one of his debates with Douglas. "The sum of proslavery theology," he declared, taking quick advantage of an opening given him by his antagonist, "seems to be this: 'Slavery is not universally right, nor yet universally wrong: it is better for some people to be slaves; and, in such cases, it is the will of God that they be such.' Certainly there is no

contending against the will of God; but still there is some difficulty in ascertaining and applying it to particular cases. For instance, we will suppose the Rev. Dr. Ross has a slave named Sambo, and the question is, 'Is it the will of God that Sambo shall remain a slave, or be set free?' The Almighty gives no audible answer to the question, and His revelation, the Bible, gives none—or, at the most, none but such that admits a squabble as to His meaning; no one thinks of asking Sambo's opinion on it.

"So at last it comes to this, that Dr. Ross is to decide the question; and while he considers it he sits in the shade, with gloves on his hands, and subsists on the bread that Sambo is earning in the burning sun. If he decides that God wills Sambo to continue a slave, he thereby retains his own comfortable position; but if he decides that God wills Sambo to be free, he thereby has to walk out of the shade, throw off his gloves, and delve for his own bread. Will Dr. Ross be actuated by the perfect impartiality which has ever been considered most favorable to correct decisions?"

Lincoln is also known to have read the Sociology of the South, by George Fitzhugh, (48) a Virginia lawyer, published in 1854, and at once bought by

Herndon, and to have stoutly disputed its basic argument, put forward with ability and evident sincerity, that slavery was the best estate for labor. A little later he gave careful, if not always sympathetic attention to a better known book by another Southern man, Hinton Rowan Helper's The Impending Crisis of the South. (49) Helper opposed slavery because he regarded it as a bad thing for the white man, who, he contended, was degraded by competition with it; and this view one finds reflected in the speech which Lincoln delivered at Cooper Union in February, 1860, and which a few months later contributed in no small measure to his nomination for the Presidency.

Lincoln bought and read French's True Republican and Sumner's Republican Party (50) as soon as they came from the press, but there is little doubt that the book which most influenced his final views on the supreme issue of the time was Leonard Bacon's Slavery Discussed in Occasional Essays, published in 1846, eight years before the repeal of the Missouri Compromise called the Illinois lawyer back to public life. The son of that David Bacon who planted the first settlement of New England men in the Western Reserve of Ohio,

Leonard Bacon, was long pastor of the First Congregational Church of New Haven, and also from youth to age a defender of every cause that made for liberty and progress. His addresses opposing slavery, lucid in argument and moderate in spirit, strongly appealed to Lincoln, and their influence can be clearly traced in the latter's debates with Douglas. "When, many years after the little book had been forgotten by the public," writes Bacon's son, "and slavery had fallen before the President's proclamation, it appeared from Lincoln's declaration that he owed to that book his definite, reasonable and irrefragable view of the slavery question, my father felt ready to sing the Nunc Dimittis."(51)

Lincoln's careful regard for the truth early in 1860 prompted a belated reading of Plutarch's Lives. In the early summer of 1860, as already noted, John Locke Scripps of the *Chicago Press and Tribune*, aided by Horace Greeley, prepared a short campaign life of Lincoln, based mainly on data supplied by its subject. (52) When it was finished Lincoln read it in order to correct possible mistakes. When he returned it to Scripps he explained a somewhat protracted delay by saying that before he received it he had not read Plutarch,

as the sketch credited him with doing, but had since done so in order that the statement might be published as strictly accurate.

During the same twelvemonth Lincoln for the first time and with infinite gusto read Homer in Bohn's translation. Business called Julius H. Royce of Albion, New York, to Bloomington, Illinois. There for a fortnight he was a guest at the same hotel as Lincoln, who was in attendance at court. "Day by day Mr. Royce," writes the late Talcott Williams, who was his son-in-law, (53) "saw Lincoln reach across the table for the hotel castor, set it before his plate and lose himself in a volume, bound in dark cloth. Meal after meal brought the same absorption, and finally Royce asked Lincoln what he was reading. The latter looked up with alert attention. 'I am reading Homer, the Iliad and Odyssey,' was the reply; 'you should read him. He has a grip and he knows how to tell a story.'" And no one will deny that this terse estimate had the root of the matter in it. (54)

The contents of the volumes which made up Lincoln's private library, dispersed after his death, were probably familiar in whole or in part to their

owner. These included Cruden's Concordance, Wirt's Life of Patrick Henry, Holland's Martin Van Buren, Riley's Narrative of the Brig Commerce, (55) Drake's Life of Black Hawk, Worcester's Ancient and Modern History, Hallam's Middle Ages, Flint's First White Man of the West (56), Ford's History of Illinois (57) and Lanman's Dictionary of Congress. Lincoln also owned and no doubt dipped into Mill's Liberty, Burke's Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful, and collected editions of the poems of Pope, Young, Longfellow, Poe, Willis, Holmes, Halleck and Eliza Cook. (57a)

Lincoln, as an occasional reader of fiction, seems to have preferred the short story which he could finish at a single sitting to the novel or romance of average length. In his youth he read some of the stories of Southern life written by Caroline Lee Hentz, (58) and there is reasonable evidence for the belief that during his New Salem days he found occasional diversion in Cooper's Leather Stocking Tales. Herndon, however, declares that his partner never read a novel in its entirety; that while he began Scott's Ivanhoe he did not finish it, and that he refused to read Bulwer and Dickens. (59) But Herndon's declaration fails to take into

account a little book published anonymously by Harper's in 1856 and which bore the title, Wealth and Worth, or Which Makes The Man?—a homely story designed to enforce the thought that wealth counts as nothing as compared to worth in the man. The copy which Lincoln owned and read and which contains his autograph is now in the collection of James W. Bollinger of Davenport, Iowa.

The books most frequently in Lincoln's hands in the troubled weeks which followed his election to the Presidency were Hickey's Constitution and Elliot's Debates on the Federal Constitution. He had used the latter in the preparation of his Cooper Union Speech, and it was one of the three works he kept beside him for reference when writing his First Inaugural. (60)

A list of the books drawn by the Lincoln family from the Library of Congress between April 19, 1861, and March 19, 1865—a list including nearly seven score titles, and covering a wide range—affords some interesting sidelights on the tastes or passing interests of its several members. It is known that Mrs. Lincoln was a wide and discriminating reader, with a fair command of French and German, and it was no doubt for her use and

entertainment that the works of Hugo, Balzac, Goethe, Schiller, Richter and Schlegel, the essays of Emerson and the tales of Scott, Hawthorne, Dickens, Disraeli and Charles Kingsley were drawn from the library.

It is probable, on the other hand, that the half dozen volumes dealing with Mormonism, called for in August and November, 1861, and retained for periods varying from two to eight months, were sought by Lincoln as throwing desired light on one of the minor problems of his administration. The same assumption applies to Neill's Minnesota, borrowed just before the threat of an Indian outbreak in that territory became a tragic reality; and the books on the Northwest, the Southwest and the Pacific, drawn in quick succession during the spring of 1863, and in some instances retained for many months. These included Molhausen's Pacific, Parkman's Oregon Trail and Kendall's Santa Fe Expedition. Probably the President obtained Clough's edition of Plutarch, and Chapman's Homer, the one in April, 1862, and the latter in October, 1864, in order to renew his zestful delight in these classics, a first reading of which had made memorable his last years and

months in Illinois. It is likewise safe to assume that the histories of Hume, Macaulay and Bancroft were drawn for his use, and that he was the reader of the four volumes of Jefferson's Complete Works, which were loaned to the White House for many weeks in the fall and early winter of 1861.

Halleck's Science of War appears to have been long and carefully studied by Lincoln, for it was drawn from the library on January 8, 1862, and not returned until March 24, 1864. A book of equal usefulness constantly studied by Lincoln during his years as President was Whiting's War Powers. William Whiting, a Boston lawyer of great ability, was named solicitor and general counsel for the War Department in November, 1862, and his opinions on the war powers of Congress and the President, and on kindred subjects were duly gathered into a volume so frequently consulted by Lincoln that Carpenter showed it in his picture The First Reading of the Emancipation Proclamation. (61) Another book read and pondered by Lincoln perhaps helped to shape his decision to issue that immortal decree. The story

is told in the author's recollections. In November, 1861, James R. Gilmore, who later was to win eminence as a writer under the pen name of Edmund Kirke, was preparing to issue from a New York office, with Charles Godfrey Leland as editor, a new magazine—the *Continental Monthly*. Richard B. Kimball, a popular author of the period, had promised to write a series of Southern sketches for it, but begged at the eleventh hour to be excused for lack of time to prepare them.

Then Gilmore, who had lived much in the South and knew its life from every angle, decided to undertake the task himself. His first article, published without signature in the opening number of the new magazine, met with instant favor and decided him to continue the series. Then, urged thereto by one of his associates, he gathered the papers into an anonymous volume, Under the Pines, which issued from the press in June, 1862. Gilmore sent a dozen copies of his book to Robert J. Walker, with whom he was on an intimate footing. Walker in turn handed one of them to the President, who, having read the book, asked the name of its author and voiced a desire to meet and know him. (62)

Agreeable to this request, Walker and Gilmore a few weeks later called on Lincoln, who, after cordially greeting his visitors, took from a drawer his copy of Under the Pines, with many of its pages turned down, and asked its author: "How much of this book is true?" Gilmore answered that in a certain sense it was all true, and that in his sketches he had attempted to paint a faithful picture of the slave system and its effect on the life and people of the South. In the talk that followed Lincoln told his visitors that he had read Under the Pines with care, and that from it he had gained a deepening conviction of the imperative need for the abolition of slavery—if the Union was to be rewelded and endure. A little more than a month later the Emancipation Proclamation was given to the world. (63)

It was during his hard months and years in the White House that Lincoln came to know and find delight in the writings of Tom Hood, and one would not willingly forego the picture that has come down to us of the weary President stalking the corridors of the White House in his nightshirt to read a choice passage from the English humorist to his youthful secretary, John Hay. (64) Other

books which cheered and diverted Lincoln in a season when he had sore need of cheer and diversion were Locke's Letters of Petroleum V. Nasby, Browne's Adventures of Artemus Ward, Newell's Orpheus C. Kerr Papers, Cozzens' Sparrowgrass Papers, Halpine's Miles O'Reilly and Marvel's Fudge Doings. Each of these humorists, and Browne in especial measure, gave Lincoln the occasions for laughter of which he stood in constant need, and he often read their sallies aloud to his Cabinet, to his own delight and to the annoyance now and then of his advisers, Chase and Stanton among them. (65)

Indeed a reading by Lincoln of Browne's droll chronicle of a High Handed Outrage at Utica preceded the formal announcement to his Cabinet that he had decided to issue the Emancipation Proclamation. Hamilton Ward, an eminent lawyer of Albany, New York, long afterward placed on record an account of the incident as related to him by Secretary Stanton. (66) "On the twenty-second day of September, 1862," Stanton told Ward, "I had a sudden and peremptory call to a Cabinet meeting at the White House. They did not usually require me to attend those meetings, as my duties

were so exacting I had to be constantly at my post, and it was only on rare and important occasions that I was asked to be present. I went immediately to the White House, entered the room, and found the historic War Cabinet of Abraham Lincoln assembled, every member being present. The President hardly noticed me as I came in. He was reading a book of some kind which seemed to amuse him. It was a little book. He finally turned to us and said: 'Gentlemen, did you ever read anything from Artemus Ward? Let me read you a chapter that is very funny.' Not a member of the Cabinet smiled; as for myself, I was angry, and looked to see what the President meant. It seemed to me like buffoonery. He, however, concluded to read us a chapter from Artemus Ward"—it was, as already indicated, the humorist's High Handed Outrage at Utica—"which he did with great deliberation, and, having finished, laughed heartily, without a member of the Cabinet joining in the laughter. . . .

"'Well!' he went on, 'let's have another chapter'; and he read another chapter to our great astonishment. I was considering whether I should rise and leave the meeting abruptly, when he threw his

book down, heaved a sigh, and said: 'Gentlemen, why don't you laugh? With the fearful strain that is upon me night and day, if I did not laugh I should die, and you need this medicine as much as I do!'

"He then put his hand in his tall hat that sat upon the table and pulled out a little paper. Turning to the members of the Cabinet, he said: 'Gentlemen, I have called you here on very important business. I have prepared a little paper of much significance. I have made up my mind that this paper is to issue; that the time has come when it should issue; that the people are ready for it to issue. It is due to my Cabinet that you should be the first to hear and know of it, and if any of you have any suggestions to make as to the form of this paper or its composition, I shall be glad to hear them, but the paper is to issue.' And to my astonishment he read the Emancipation Proclamation of that date, containing the vital provision that on January 1, 1863, 'all persons held as slaves within any state or designated part of a state, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be henceforth and forever free.'

"I have always tried to be calm, but I think I lost my calmness for a moment, and with great enthusiasm I arose, approached the President, extended my hand, and said: 'Mr. President, if reading chapters of Artemus Ward is a prelude to such a deed as this, the book should be filed among the archives of the nation and the author should be canonized. Henceforth I see the light, and the country is saved'; and all said 'Amen.' And Lincoln said to me in a droll way as I was leaving, 'Stanton, it would have been too early last spring.' And as I look back upon it, I think the President was right."

It is a familiar story of how Robert Dale Owen, (67) the social reformer, having written a book on the Utopia he dreamed about, treated Lincoln to long and wearying passages from his manuscript and then asked the President's opinion of it. "Well," was his patient auditor's reply, "for those who like that sort of thing I think it is just about the sort of a thing they would like." And Owen was not the only author overfond of his offspring who in one way and another gave Lincoln an uneasy or trying half hour. James Henry Hackett, the famous comedian, having written and pub-

lished a book with the formidable title, Notes and Comments on Certain Plays and Actors of Shakespeare, with Criticisms and Comments, early in 1863 presented a copy of it to the President. The latter, after pardonable delay, on August 17, sent the following letter to Hackett:

"Months ago I should have acknowledged the receipt of your book and accompanying kind note; and I now have to beg your pardon for not having done so.

"For one of my age I have seen very little of the drama. The first presentation of Falstaff I ever saw was yours here, last winter or spring. Perhaps the best compliment I can pay is to say, as I truly can, I am very anxious to see it again. Some of Shakespeare's plays I have never read, while others I have gone over perhaps as frequently as any unprofessional reader. Among the latter are Lear, Richard III, Henry VIII, Hamlet, and especially Macbeth. I think nothing equals Macbeth; I think it is wonderful. (68)

"Unlike you gentlemen of the profession, I think the soliloquy in Hamlet commencing 'Oh, my offence is rank,' surpasses that commencing 'To be or not to be.' But pardon this small attempt

at criticism. I should like to hear you pronounce the opening speech of Richard III. Will you not soon visit Washington again? If you do, please call and let me make your personal acquaintance."

The President did not intend this letter for publication, but Hackett, without due regard for the proprieties, gave it to the press. Whereupon Lincoln's "small attempt at criticism" was made a target of attack and he was promptly and severely called to account for his considerate words to a player and for his taste, or rather lack of it, in contrasting the merits of Shakespeare's lines. In a second message to Hackett he closed the incident in this characteristic way:

"My note to you I certainly did not expect to see in print, yet I have not been much shocked by the newspaper comments upon it. These comments constitute a fair specimen of what has occurred to me through life. I have endured a great deal of ridicule without much malice; and I have received a great deal of kindness, not quite free from ridicule."

One of the greatest of the books which Lincoln read in the White House, and for the first time, demands a closing word. This was the Don Quixote

of Cervantes. (69) He gratefully recognized a kindred spirit in the wise and gentle Spaniard, and gave many an hour to the adventures of his melancholy knight. Here ends the present record. Lincoln was not a man of the schools, but in an education which began with the Bible, Aesop and Bunyan, was enriched by Shakespeare, Bacon and Milton and had ripe culmination in Plutarch, Homer and Cervantes, there was depth and breadth and right training for great affairs.

EXPLANATORY NOTES

(1) The Bible owned by Lincoln's father is now in the Lincoln Museum in Washington. On the inside of the back cover appears the name "Thomas Lincoln" apparently written in his own hand. On the back cover also appears the inscription "William Miller. Price $5.00." There were several Miller families in the section of Kentucky in which the Lincolns made their home, and it is the belief of Dr Louis A. Warren, author of Lincoln's Parentage and Childhood that the book under examination was purchased at a sale of the effects of one of these families. The name of Abraham Lincoln appears on the back of the front cover, and there also the handwriting of two other persons, one signed "Kanhard Black his F. T." and the other the price mark, which appears to have been 27 shillings later changed to 30 shillings.

The title page of this old Bible states that it contains "Arguments Prefixed to the Different Books and Moral and Theological Observations." There are eleven closely printed pages in the Preface which under the caption Preliminary Discourse Giving Some Direction Concerning the Reading of the Holy Scriptures declares: "That great numbers neglect the reading of the Holy Scriptures is as evident as it is deplorable. . . . Christians there are innumerable who are almost entirely ignorant of the Bible because those that have the rule over them suffer it to be read only by particular persons, and with the greatest precaution, as if it were a dangerous thing to put the work of God indifferently into the hands of all men. . . . Many, it is true, for want of learning may not be in capacity to read the Scriptures which is a great misfortune and a shame to Christians, that the number of those who cannot read should still be so great among them. . . . The Scriptures therefore are the most valuable blessings God ever bestowed upon us except the sending of his son into the world. They are a treasury containing everything that can make us truly rich and truly happy. . . ."

The writer of the Preface thus compares the Old and New Testaments: "The New Testament is that part of the Scriptures which it most concerns us to be acquainted with. If the Old Testament and the New Testament be compared together the latter is certainly the clearest and most perfect." The final section of the Preface has to do with the method of reading the Bible, which is discussed under these captions: (1) Attention and Deliberation, (2) Fervently and Diligently, (3) Judgment and Directness, (4) Submission and Obedience, (5) Piety and Devotion. Copious notes introduce the different books

of the Bible, and at the end of each page the editor interprets and draws a moral from its contents.

(2) The convention which assembled at Cleveland on May 31, 1864, was sponsored by B. Gratz Brown, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Wendell Phillips and sundry Germans of St. Louis who for divers reasons opposed Lincoln's re-election to the Presidency. It chose as its nominees General John C. Fremont and General John Cochrane, both then residents of New York, thus ignoring the mandate of the Constitution that each elector shall vote for two persons, one of whom is not from his own state. A few weeks later both candidates withdrew from the field.

(3) Lincoln's reference of course was to the Cave of Abdullam mentioned in First Samuel.

(4) This incident recalls the account by Gideon Welles of Lincoln's last Cabinet meeting held a few hours before his assassination. "He hoped," Welles records, "there would be no persecution, no bloody work, after the war was over. None need expect he would take any part in hanging or killing these men, even the worst of them. 'Frighten them out of the country, let down the bars, scare them off,' said he, throwing up his hands as if scaring sheep. 'Enough lives have been sacrificed. We must extinguish our resentment if we expect harmony and union.' There was too much desire on the part of our very good friends to be masters, to interfere with and dictate to those states, to treat the people not as fellow citizens; there was too little respect for their rights. He didn't sympathize in those feelings."

(5) See The Prairie Years by Carl Sandburg, 1:416.

(6) See Washington, the Capital City, by Rufus Rockwell Wilson, 2:250, based on a newspaper article by John Gilmer Speed.

(7) Speed to Herndon, January 12, September 17, 1866. Weik Mss. quoted in Abraham Lincoln by Beveridge 1:321.

(8) See Something of Men I Have Known by Adlai Ewing Stevenson, Page 352.

(8a) See Lincoln: The True Story of a Great Life by William H. Herndon and Jesse W. Weik, Page 37 and The Life of Abraham Lincoln by William E. Barton, 1:20 for Lincoln's use of Dilworth's Spelling Book and Webster's Old Blue Back. Herndon and Weik are authorities for the statement that Pike's Arithmetic was one of the school books used by Lincoln. Dr. Louis A. Warren, however, inclines to the belief that Lincoln secured his first knowledge of arithmetic from the work compiled by Nathan Daboll, which for several decades in the last half of the eighteenth century was the only text book on the subject published in America. The New Complete System

of Arithmetic Composed for The Use of the Citizens of the United States by Nicholas Pike, A.M., Member of the American Academy of Arts and Science, was first issued in 1788 and went into several editions. The copy examined by the writer was published in 1804 and is the fifth edition of the text. Isaac N. Arnold in his The Life of Abraham Lincoln, issued in 1887, states in a footnote: "I have in my possession, a few pages from his manuscript, 'Book of Examples in Arithmetic.' One of these is dated March 1, 1826, and headed 'Discount,' and then follows in his careful handwriting, first: A definition of Discount,' second: 'Rules for its compution,' third: 'Proof and various Examples,' worked out in figures, etc.; then 'Interest on money' as treated in the same way, all in his own handwriting. I doubt whether it would be easy to find among scholars of our common or high schools, or any school of boys of the age of seventeen, a better written specimen of this sort of work, or a better knowledge of figures than is indicated by this book of Lincoln's, written at the age of seventeen."

(9) See The Real Lincoln; A Portrait by Jesse W. Weik, Page 22, and Abraham Lincoln; The Evolution of His Literary Style by Daniel Kilham Dodge, Page 6. The copy of Murray examined by the writer was printed at Utica, New York, by Seward and Williams in 1816, and bears the title: The English Reader, or Pieces in Prose and Poetry selected from the Best Writers, Designed to Assist Young Persons to Read with Propriety and Effect, to Improve their Language and Sentiments and to Inculcate Some of the Most Important Principles of Piety and Virtue, with a few preliminary observations on the Principles of Good Reading by Lindley Murray, author of English Grammar, etc., etc.

(9a) It is possible that the copy of Pilgrim's Progress read by Lincoln was of the edition published at Boston in 1817 by Isaiah Thomas, Jr., "with copious notes by the Rev. J. Newton, Dr. Hawker and others"—the Rev. J. Newton being the same gloomy divine who helped to make miserable the latter years of the poet Cowper. If, as is probable, Lincoln read the early American edition of Aesop's Fables, he found the editor citing these lines from Addison: "Reading is to the mind what exercise is to the body, and by the one health is preserved, strengthened, and invigorated; by the other, virtue (which is the health of the mind) is kept alive and confirmed, but as exercise becomes tedious and painful when we make use of it only as a means of health, so reading is too apt to grow uneasy and burdensome when we apply ourselves to it only for our improvement. For this reason the virtue which we gather from a fable or an allegory is like the

health we get by hunting; as we are engaged in an agreeable pursuit that draws us on with pleasure, and makes us unsensible of the fatigue that accompanies it."

The editor then condemns Lestrange's translation of the fables as insipid, coarse and uncouth, and calling attention to the Frenchman's claim that his edition was for "the use and instruction of children, who, being as it were, mere blank paper, are ready indifferently for any opinion, good or bad," closes in this wise: "What sort of children therefore, are the blank paper upon which such morality as this ought to be written? Not the children of America, I hope, for they are born with free blood in their veins and suck in liberty with their very milk. This they should be taught to love and cherish above all things, and upon occasion, to defend and vindicate it, as it is the glory of their country, the greatest blessing of their lives, and the peculiar happy privilege in which they excel all the world besides. . . . But let the minds of our charming youth be forever educated and improved in that spirit of truth and liberty for the support of which their ancestors have bravely exhausted so much blood and treasure."

(10) My friend Charles T. White takes exception to the statement that there were few book owners in the Southern Indiana of Lincoln's time, and calls attention to the fact that Robert Owen, the Scotch reformer, in 1826, while the Lincolns were living on Pigeon Creek, with a party of thirty people came down the Ohio in what was called the "boat load of knowledge," and established a colony and school sixty or seventy miles from Gentryville. "About a thousand people," writes Sandburg, "were joined in Owen's scheme at New Harmony on the Wabash. The scheme lighted up Abe Lincoln's heart. His eyes were big and hungry as a hoot-owl's as he told Dennis Hanks, 'There's a school and thousands of books there, and fellers that know everything in creation.' The schooling would have cost him about $100 a year and he could have worked for his board. But Tom Lincoln had other plans for his son Abe"—and there is no record that the latter ever visited New Harmony. Sandburg 1:85.

(11) The Life of Washington by Weems first appeared in 1800, and during the next century more than a hundred editions of it came from the press. Perhaps the copy Lincoln read in his twelfth year was loaned him by his schoolmaster, Andrew Crawford. See Abraham Lincoln and His Books by William E. Barton, Page 7. It is interesting to recall that Weems, perhaps the earliest of American book agents, procured most of the subscribers to the first edition of John Marshall's Life of Washington.

(12) The copy of Lowe's Columbian Class Book studied by Lincoln is still in existence. For his debt to Grimshaw see Beveridge 1:73–74.

(12a) See The Life of Abraham Lincoln by Ward H. Lamon, Page 37.

(13) See Beveridge 1:83 for a full discussion of this book.

(14) See Beveridge 1:73.

(15) See Lincoln the Lawyer by Frederick T. Hill, Page 10.

(16) William Jones was born at Vincennes in 1800, and lived there until 1826, when he settled at Gentryville. Although past sixty years of age he entered the Union army in 1861, rose to the command of the Fifty-third Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and was killed in action at Atlanta, Georgia, on July 22, 1864. No man more deeply influenced the early life of Lincoln. See Footprints of Abraham Lincoln by Jonathan T. Hobson, Page 34.

(16a) George D. Prentice founded the Louisville Journal in 1831. Herndon quotes Dennis Hanks as saying that Lincoln became a Whig in 1826, influenced to such action by his talks with Jones, and his reading of the speeches of Henry Clay. Hanks to Herndon, March 12, 1866. Weik Mss. quoted by Beveridge 1:98.

(17) Beveridge declares that the philosophy expounded by Webster in his reply to Hayne was to become Lincoln's own political religion. "Perhaps Lincoln himself," he writes, "hardly realized the nearing of that conflict of reason and eloquence, coming from afar like sullen thunder sounding beyond the horizon. Yet he had heard it, that distant booming; and again, and soon, the unmistakable sound was to come to his ears, and thereafter again yet again." See Beveridge 1:102.

(18) See the Women Lincoln Loved by William E. Barton, Page 165, and Beveridge 1:141.

(19) Lincoln's friendship with Francis, dating from his New Salem days, during which he became a regular contributor to the Journal, strengthened with the years, and he had not long been a resident of Springfield before it was said that he controlled its editorial policy. Beveridge 1:212.

(20) For Lincoln's reading of Rollin's Ancient History, which although of slight value enjoyed great popularity a century ago, and of Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, see Beveridge 1:135, and Herndon, Page 113. The Age of Reason begun in a French prison by Thomas Paine had a sale in England alone of 1,500,000 copies, and when reprinted in America, at the instance of Thomas Jefferson, had wide circulation in the United States. An editorial preface to an edition of Volney's Ruins of Empire of a date subsequent to that of

the one read by Lincoln thus sets forth its scope and purpose: "It is time to demonstrate that morality is a physical and geometrical science, subjected to the rules and calculations of the other mathematical sciences; and such is the advantage of the system expounded in this book, that the basis of morality being laid in it on the very nature of things, it is both constant and immutable; whereas, in all other theological systems morality being built upon arbitrary opinions, not demonstrable and often absurd, it changes, decays, expires, with them, and leaves man in absolute depravation. It is true that because our system is founded on facts and not on reveries it will with much greater difficulty be extended and adopted; but it will derive strength from this very struggle, and sooner or later the eternal religion of Nature must overturn the transient religions of the human mind."

For the influence of Paine and Volney on Lincoln at a time when a narrow and intolerant bigotry ruled the American frontier see Beveridge 1:139 and Herndon, Page 439.

(21) Diligent search at the Library of Congress and in other quarters has failed to locate a copy of American Military Biography.

(22) Lincoln's own copy, afterward presented by him to Ann Rutledge, of English Grammar in Familiar Lectures by Samuel Kirkham published at Cincinnati in 1826 is now at the Decatur, Illinois, Public Library, but is soon to have a final home in the Library of Congress. See The Early Life of Lincoln by Ida M. Tarbell, 1:177–179 and Barton 1:187. A copy of Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres by Hugh Blair, now in the possession of the writer, was published at New York in 1821 and it was probably a copy of the same edition that was read by Lincoln. The mother of Henry B. Rankin, who lived near and knew Lincoln at New Salem, recalled that "two of Lincoln's favorite books were Blair's Rhetoric and Burns' Poems." Statement of Henry B. Rankin to George P. Hambrecht.

(22a) The complete title of Gibson's work was: The Theory and Practice of Surveying; containing All the Instructions requisite for the skillful practice of this Art. By Robert Gibson. See Abraham Lincoln as Man of Letters, by Luther E. Robinson, Page 113. A second work on surveying studied by Lincoln at New Salem in 1833 was A System of Geometry and Trigonometry together with a Treatise on Surveying by Abel Flint, published at Hartford in 1804. See Tarbell 1:100.

(23) See Herndon, Page 45, and Hill, Page 10.

(24) Besides the Revised Laws of Illinois and other volumes borrowed from Green, Lincoln at this time bought and made diligent

use of a book of forms, from it writing "out deeds, mortgages and other contracts for those in need of such documents." See Lincoln and New Salem, Page 54, and Beveridge 2:141.

(25) As to the copies of Greenleaf's Evidence, Chitty's Pleadings and Story's Equity studied by Lincoln see Herndon, Page 324. Beveridge gives a speaking portrait of Stuart as he appeared when in 1836 a member of the Illinois Legislature. "He was over six feet tall," writes Beveridge, "'the handsomest man in Illinois'; an able and resourceful lawyer, deferential in manner, benignant of countenance and, for years to come, an influential man in the state. But he was known as a plotter and manipulator—Jerry Sly, his enemies called this closest associate of Lincoln." See Beveridge 1:178.

(26) Kent's Commentaries on American Law, first published in four volumes between 1826 and 1830, were based upon lectures delivered by him as professor of law in Columbia College, now Columbia University. They cover the entire field of American jurisprudence, including the common and statutory law of the states, and the elements of international law. Kent retired from his professorship in 1825, and thereafter devoted himself to the improvement of his great work. Six editions, each carefully revised by the author, were published before his death in 1847. See Memoirs and Letters of James Kent, by William Kent, his grandson.

(27) Speed to Herndon, December 6, 1866, quoted by Beveridge 1:302.

(28) Lincoln to Andrew Johnston, April 18, 1846, quoted by Beveridge 1:384.

(29) The meeting addressed by Lincoln and Seward was to have been held in Court Square, but, because of rain, was transferred to Tremont Temple. See Memoirs of Seward, Page 79–80, Note.

(30) The copies of Day's Algebra and of Olmstead's Astronomy owned and studied by Lincoln are now in private collections. For his use of Neilson's Exercises in Greek see Abraham Lincoln; A History by Nicolay and Hay 1:688. After Lincoln's death a copy of Joe Miller's Joke Book was found in the drawer of his desk where it was keeping company with important state papers. See Life on the Circuit with Lincoln by Henry C. Whitney, Page 126, and Abraham Lincoln and His Books by Barton, Page 18. Whitney, it may be noted in passing, agrees with Herndon as to Lincoln's ways as a reader. "His reading," he writes, Page 109, "was more desultory and less profound than that of any man of his own time, or if not, indeed, of any time." For Lincoln's enjoyment of Joseph Glover

Baldwin's Flush Times in Alabama and Mississippi see Whitney, Page 177, and Dodge, Page 16.

(31) Lincoln and Herndon practiced law together from 1844 to 1861, but the partnership continued after Lincoln's election and until his death. Late in the afternoon before the day set for Lincoln's departure for Washington in February, 1861, the long-time partners met in their office for a final talk. Lincoln, as he rose to leave, told Herndon that their shingle should remain in its place and that there should be no break in their partnership. "If I live," said he, "I am coming back, and we'll resume practice as if nothing had happened." Then, gathering up a bundle of papers, he took a last look around the room that had played a fateful part in the lives of both men; after which they descended to the street and went their separate ways. See Sandburg 2:422. Herndon was all his life a student, but was compelled in needy old age to sell a part of his library.

(32) It was the belief of Jesse W. Fell that the religious views of Parker, so liberal as to cause his virtual exclusion from the Unitarian fellowship, approached more closely to those of Lincoln than did the views of any other writer, while it was the claim of Dr. Charles H. Ray, of the Chicago Press and Tribune, that Lincoln once told him that in religious matters he was in substantial agreement with Parker. See The Soul of Abraham Lincoln by Barton, Pages 177–188, and Herndon, Pages 442–445.

(33) Herndon to Weik, December 15, 1886. Weik Mss. quoted by Beveridge 1:520.

(34) Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation by Robert Chambers was first published anonymously at Edinburgh in 1844. Lincoln read it in the first and sixth editions. See Herndon, Page 437, and The Soul of Abraham Lincoln by Barton, Pages 166–171.

(35) See Sandburg 1:414.

(36) The complete title of Smith's book is: The Christian's Defense, containing a Fair Statement and Impartial Examination of the Leading Objections urged by Infidels against the Antiquity, Genuineness, Credibility, and Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, enriched with Copious Extracts from Learned Authors. The copy read by Lincoln in 1850 was loaned to him by the author.

(37) For Lincoln's reading of Butler's Analogy of Religion, first published in 1736, see the Life and Times of Abraham Lincoln by L. P. Brockett, Page 719, and Dodge, Page 17. The copies of Bailey's Theology and Hitchcock's Religious Truth owned and read by Lincoln are still in existence. See Hill, Page 15. The Works of William Paley, D.D., Containing His Evidences of Christianity, etc., were pub-

lished in London in 1836. Lincoln procured and read them in 1859. See Abraham Lincoln and His Books by Barton, Page 18. The complete set of Channing's Sermons and Writings which Fell about 1855 presented to Lincoln was probably the six-volume edition in general use at that time. See The Soul of Abraham Lincoln by Barton, Pages 175–188, and Herndon, Pages 442–445.

(38) Gillespie to Herndon, December 8, 1866. Weik Mss. quoted by Beveridge 1:520.

(39) Herndon to Weik, February, 1887. Weik Mss. quoted by Beveridge 1:520.

(40) William E. Barton in his Abraham Lincoln and Walt Whitman calls attention to the fact that while Herndon owned a copy of Leaves of Grass he never mentions Lincoln as having read it, and then takes up the account of the incident given by Henry B. Rankin in his Personal Recollections of Abraham Lincoln published in 1916. Rankin's somewhat belated claim that he had been a student in the law office of Lincoln and Herndon prompted this comment by Barton: "Henry B. Rankin was born in Menard County, Illinois, a county that passed very few votes for Lincoln in 1860. Just why he should have studied law in the intensely Republican office of Lincoln and Herndon has never been explained. So far as is known, he never claimed to have been a student in the Lincoln and Herndon office until most of the men were dead who could have contradicted him. When he put forth the claim, at first with a discreet vagueness as to the precise time which this apprenticeship covered, most of the men who could have contradicted him kept silent in public. What they said in private need not here be repeated. They remembered, however, that Lincoln and Herndon took in very few law students. They could recall only two and these for no very great length of time, and neither of them was named Rankin. Lincoln advised young men to read law at home as he had done, and pleaded that his almost constant absence on the circuit made it impossible for him to supervise the studies of law students. The only compensation which lawyers received from students working in their offices was the preparation or copying of legal documents. The files of all the counties in which Lincoln practiced have been searched for every scrap of paper bearing on any of Lincoln's known cases. Thus far, no document has been found in the handwriting of Mr. Rankin. The only time when Lincoln's office adjoined that of Newton Bateman was in the busy period after Lincoln had been nominated for the Presidency. He was permitted courteously to share the Governor's office, and receive visitors there. The only thing to be said about Mr. Rankin's recollec-

tion of Lincoln as a reader of Leaves of Grass, is that Mr. Rankin, in common with many other old men, mixed his memories with his imagination."

(41) Barton also dismisses as improbable the familiar story, first given circulation by William Douglas O'Connor, that Lincoln, seeing Whitman, said: "Well, he looks like a man," and registers the opinion that the two men never met or had speech with each other. He argues that the letter purporting to have been addressed to the poet by a person not known to him, on which O'Connor based his account, had no foundation in fact, and adds: "Whoever wrote it, the letter is a fraud. Still, Walt Whitman did look like a man, even though Abraham Lincoln did not say it, or know how Whitman looked." See Abraham Lincoln and Walt Whitman, Pages 96–105.

(42) Herndon was an occasional correspondent of Horace Greeley founder and editor of the New York Tribune. When, after Douglas' break with Buchanan, Greeley for a time advocated the re-election of the Illinois senator in preference to Lincoln, Herndon in March, 1858, made a fruitless trip to New York to persuade him of the error of his ways. See Beveridge 2:549. In the spring of 1860 the editor of the Tribune for a time championed the claims of Edward Bates as a possible Republican candidate for the Presidency, but in the end became convinced of the greater availability of Lincoln and in the Chicago convention labored effectively to secure his nomination, and the defeat of Seward. Lincoln almost from the first had the hearty support of the Chicago Press and Tribune, and two members of its editorial staff, John Locke Scripps and Dr. Charles H. Ray, were among his devoted personal friends. Greeley and Scripps, as noted in another place, in the early summer of 1860 joined in the preparation of the official campaign life of Lincoln.

(43) Gamaliel Bailey, editor of the National Era, was an uncommon man. A native of New Jersey and a physician by profession, he early became an active agitator against slavery, and in 1836 joined James G. Birney, mob-driven from Kentucky, in the publication of the Cincinnati Philanthropist, the first abolition organ in the West, of which, in 1837, he became sole editor. Twice in that year, and again in 1841, his printing-office was sacked by a mob, but he issued his paper regularly until after the election of 1844, when he was called to the editorship of the National Era, a weekly journal which the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, acting through Lewis Tappan, had decided to establish in Washington. The National Era, which for a dozen years following January, 1847, laid siege to slavery in its parliamentary stronghold, Dr. Bailey conducted

with signal talent, tact, and devotion, its influence ever deepening and widening until its mission was accomplished. See Washington, The Capital City by Wilson, 2:44.

(44) The Richmond Inquirer and the Charleston Mercury were both ably edited during the period which preceded the conflict between the sections, and the utterances of the latter journal in the winter of 1860–61 did not a little to hasten the secession of South Carolina and the attack on Fort Sumter.

(45) The Southern Literary Messenger was for a score of years widely read and quoted, and in its pages appeared essays and papers by most of the important moulders of public opinion in the South. When in October, 1852, its editor reviewed Uncle Tom's Cabin he did so, he declared, only because "we may be compelled one day (God grant the day may never come) to repel with the bayonet," unless the spirit that had moved its author was promptly exposed by the pen.

(46) The copy of Beecher's Alton Riots owned by Lincoln has been preserved.

(47) Uncle Tom's Cabin commanded as wide a reading abroad as it did in the United States. Thirty editions were printed in London during six months of 1852. Fourteen separate versions were issued in Germany, four in France and two in Holland. It was translated into nearly every language spoken in Europe, and one edition appeared in Arabic. An article in the Edinburgh Review on Slavery in the United States, reprinted in London in 1856, declared the sale of Uncle Tom's Cabin "the most marvelous literary phenomenon that the world has witnessed." For accounts of the conditions under which Uncle Tom's Cabin was written and the latter years of its author, see New England in Letters by Rufus Rockwell Wilson, Pages 10 and 356.

(48) It is doubtful if Fitzhugh's contention that labor should be owned by capital, and that slavery was its best estate, was shared by any considerable number of people in the South. Beveridge calls attention to the interesting fact that Fitzhugh was related by marriage to Gerit Smith, long a leader and chief financial supporter of the anti-slavery movement, and that the two were personal friends. See Beveridge 2:31 and Herndon, Page 363.

(49) When Herndon returned from a trip to New York and Boston in April, 1858, he brought back with him a copy of the Impending Crisis then fresh from the press. Lincoln read the book and expressed his want of sympathy with its author's point of view, but for the Republican orators and press it proved the most effective of cam-

paign documents both before and during the presidential contest of 1860. The session of Congress in the winter of 1859–60 was attended by a long battle over the Speakership of the House in which Helper's book played an important part. The author long survived the conflict between the sections, and devoted his last years to zealous but fruitless promotion of a railway to connect the two Americas. See Beveridge 2:550, Nicolay and Hay 1:609, and Robinson, Page 85.

(50) Lincoln's copies of French's True Republican and Sumner's Republican Party have been preserved.

(51) Born in 1802, Bacon was graduated at Yale in 1820, and from 1824 until his death in 1881, was pastor of the First Congregational Church of New Haven. See New England in Letters by Wilson, Pages 367–68, and the Century Magazine for March, 1883.

(52) See The Early Life of Lincoln by Tarbell, Page 71, and Abraham Lincoln and His Books by Barton, Page 7.

(53) See Lincoln the Reader by Talcott Williams, Review of Reviews for February, 1920.

(54) A list of the books drawn from the Library of Congress by the Lincolns indicates that in the winter of 1863–64 the President again read Homer in Chapman's translation.

(55) The Life and Political Opinions of Martin Van Buren by William M. Holland was published at Hartford in 1835. See The Real Lincoln by Jesse W. Weik, Page 230, for an incident showing Lincoln's familiarity with it. When in June, 1842, Van Buren, intent upon a renomination to the Presidency two years later, visited Illinois accompanied by James Kirke Paulding and others, Lincoln, by invitation of the Democratic leaders of Springfield, was one of those who entertained the visitors, and Speed records that "he kept the company convulsed with laughter till the small hours of the night." Speed adds that "Mr. Van Buren stayed some days in Springfield, and repeatedly said he never spent so agreeable a night in his life."

(56) Lincoln's copy of the Life of Black Hawk by Drake is now in the Lincoln Museum in Washington. His copy of Worcester's Ancient and Modern History has also been preserved. The copy of Timothy Flint's First White Man of the West owned by Lincoln is now in the possession of the Chicago Historical Society, and bears his autograph on its fly leaf. Flint, Harvard graduate and missionary, lived mainly in the Middle West and Louisiana from 1815 until his death in 1840, and was an industrious editor and maker of books. His Life of Boone does not represent him at his best, but his Recollections of the Last Ten Years, Passed in Occasional Residencies and Journeyings in the Valley of the Mississippi, published in 1826, proved him a keen and

discriminating observer, and remains an important contribution to the history of the West in its formative period.

(57) John Ford served as Governor of Illinois, and his history of the state published in 1854 is a frank and in many ways revealing document. He gives an excellent account of the Black Hawk War from the settler's point of view, remarking with quiet humor that it created many political careers. See Nicolay and Hay, 1:299 and The Lincoln and Douglas Debates edited by Edwin E. Sparks, Page 115.

(57a) A copy of the Poetical Works of Fitz Green Halleck, published in New York in 1858, was presented to Lincoln, who wrote the giver that he especially admired Halleck's lines on Burns.

(58) Mrs. Hentz's methods as a story-teller were those practiced later by Mrs. Southworth and Bertha M. Clay. M. L. Houser, commenting on a copy of her Linda: or the Young Pilot of the Belle Creole now in his Lincoln collection, observes that readers of the tale are "expected to weep over an angelic heroine, a weak father, a cruel stepmother, a designing stepbrother and a hero who twice rescues Linda from death at their first two meetings."

(59) Herndon contended in season and out of season that Lincoln read nothing thoroughly. "He never in his life," Herndon declares, "sat down and read a book through." He asserts, however, in another place that in the years immediately following Lincoln's return from Congress the latter was "a hard student," and that he "read much in the political world." Herndon to Weik, February 11, 1887. Weik Mss. quoted by Beveridge 1:519. For Lincoln's enjoyment of the Leather Stocking Tales, see Honest Abe by Alonzo Rothschild, Page 10.

(60) The copy of the Constitution which Lincoln had before him when writing his First Inaugural was furnished him by Herndon and was probably Hickey's edition in general use at that time. See Herndon, Page 478. The full title of Elliot's compilation in four volumes of the Debates on the Constitution reads: The Debates in the several State Conventions on the adoption of the Federal Constitution at Philadelphia, in 1787, together with the Journal of the Federal Convention, Luther Martin's Letters, Yates' Minutes, Congressional Opinions, Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of '98–'99, and other illustrations of the Constitution, collected and revised from contemporary publications. By Jonathan Elliot. See Lincoln, the Citizen by Henry C. Whitney, 1:279, and Herndon, Page 455.

(61) See Six Months in the White House by Francis B. Carpenter, Page 353.

(62) Among the Pines: or South in Secession Time passed to several editions. The second and subsequent editions carried the pen name of its author—Edmund Kirke. See Gilmore's Personal Recollections of Abraham Lincoln and the Civil War, Pages 75–85, for the story of the President's contact with it.

(63) The Relations between Lincoln and Gilmore became friendly and intimate ones, and the author, as his book of recollections sets forth in detail, was several times entrusted by the President with important commissions.

(64) Lincoln probably made the acquaintance of the English humorist in the Choice Works of Thomas Hood, Complete in Four Volumes, published in New York in 1856. Both John Hay and Noah Brooks bear witness to Lincoln's fondness for the writings of Hood.

(65) The Letters of Petroleum V. Nasby were written by David R. Locke of the Toledo Blade, published in that journal, and later reprinted in pamphlet form. Lincoln found continuing delight in them, and through a common friend sent word to their author that for so rare a gift of humor he would gladly exchange his office. The first and second series of the Orpheus C. Kerr Papers by Robert Henry Newell were published in New York in 1864, and Locke, in a magazine article on Lincoln says that the latter "seized eagerly upon everything that Orpheus C. Kerr wrote, and knew it all by heart." See also The Life of Abraham Lincoln by Barton, 2:403, and Dodge, Page 16. Lincoln's fondness for the Miles O'Reilly Papers of Charles G. Halpine is dwelt upon in an article by Noah Brooks published in Harper's Magazine for July, 1865. Lincoln's copy of Fudge Doings by Ik Marvel (Donald Grant Mitchell) has been preserved.

(66) Hamilton Ward's report of his talk with Stanton will be found in Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln edited by Allen Thorndike Rice. See also Life on the Circuit with Lincoln by Whitney, Page 126, and Abraham Lincoln and His Books by Barton, Page 18.

(67) Robert Dale Owen was a son of that Robert Owen whose settlement at New Harmony had a quarter century before given a keener edge to the boy Lincoln's desire for an education.

(68) Arnold states that Lincoln usually carried a copy of Shakespeare's plays with him when he rode circuit, and read them in his spare hours. See also article by John Hay in the Century Magazine for November, 1890, and Robinson, Pages 302–305.

(69) There is no reliable record of the edition and translation of Cervantes read by Lincoln—more's the pity!

BOOKS DRAWN FROM THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS BY THE LINCOLNS

Apr. 19, 1861 to May 7, 1861.
Placer Times & Transcript, part 2nd, 1855.

Aug. 5, 1861 to Oct. 3, 1861.
Oeuvres de Victor Hugo, 9th v. Le Roi S'Amuse.

Oct. 3, 1861 to Nov. 16, 1861.
Oeuvres de Victor Hugo, 13th v.

Nov. 18, 1861 to July 29, 1862.
Oeuvres de Victor Hugo, Vol. 11.

Nov. 18, 1861 to July 29, 1862.
Gunnison, Mormonism.

Nov. 18, 1861 to July 29, 1862
Hyde, Mormonism.

Nov 18, 1861 to July 29, 1862.
Book of Mormon.

Aug. 22, 1861 to Dec. 6, 1861.
U. S. Constitution, 1783.

Aug. 22, 1861 to Dec 6, 1861.
U. S. Constitution, 1856.

Aug. 22, 1861 to July 29, 1862.
Mormonism in All Ages

Aug. 22, 1861 to Dec. 24, 1861.
Mormons, or Latter Day Saints.

Aug. 22, 1861 to Dec. 6, 1861.
Jefferson, Works Vols. 4, 7, 8, 9.

Dec. 6, 1861 to Feb. 17, 1862.
Musaeus, Volksmenschen.

Dec 3, 1861 to July 29, 1862.
Newton Display & Heraldry.

Dec. 30, 1861 to July 29, 1862.
Constitution, 1783.

Dec. 20, 1861 to July 29, 1862.
Constitution, 1856.

Jan. 8, 1862 to March 24, 1864.
Halleck, Science of War.

Feb. 7, 1862 to Feb. 17, 1862.
Emerson, Representative Men.

Feb. 13, 1862 to July 29, 1862.
Goethe, Werke, v. 17 & 18 (1 vol.) v. 14 & 15 (1 vol.).

Apr. 7, 1862 to July 29, 1862.
Plutarch's Lives, 5 v. Clough's Edition.

Apr. 28, 1862 to July 29, 1862.
Butler, Works (Hudibras, etc.) v. 2.

May 21, 1862 to June 5, 1862.
Cozzens, Sparrowgrass Papers.

June 16, 1862 to July 29, 1862.
Stowe, Key to Unce Tom's Cabin.

July 23, 1862 to Dec. 24, 1862.
Neill, Minnesota.

July 23, 1862 to Dec. 24, 1862.
Longfellow, Hiawatha.

July 23, 1862 to Dec. 24, 1862.
Shakespeare 12 mo. 1 vol.

Oct. 4, 1862 to Dec. 24, 1862.
Herbert, Field Sports 2v. Fishing 1v.

Dec. 18, 1863 to Jan. 3, 1863.
Lyrics by the Letter H.

Dec. 22, 1862 to Jan. 22, 1863.
Scott, Poetical Works 8v.

Dec. 24, 1862 to Jan. 12, 1863.
Read, Wagoner of the Alleghanies.

Jan. 5, 1863 to Jan. 29, 1863.
Atlantic, Jan.-June 1861.

Jan. 12, 1863 to Jan. 22, 1863.
Why Pave Fenve Killed His Wife.

Jan. 16, 1863 to Jan. 28, 1863.
Hume, England 2d.

Jan. 26, 1863 to July 14, 1863.
Buckland, Natural History.

Feb. 3, 1863 to July 14, 1863.
Horacan Opera Ges. Ed.

Feb. 10, 1863 to Feb. 20, 1863.
Cunningham, Nell Gwynn.

Feb. 20, 1863 to July 20, 1863.
Richter, Werke, vols. 14 to 17 inc.

March 14, 1863 to Apr. 2, 1863.
Hume, England, vols. 3 and 4

Apr. 18, 1863 to July 1, 1863.
Emerson, Essays, 1st Series.

Apr. 18, 1863 to July 2, 1863.
Hume, England, vol. 7.

May 9, 1863 to July 2, 1863.
Chapman, Drawing Book.

May 9, 1863 to June 9, 1863.
Ruskin, Elements of Drawing.

May 16, 1863 to June 9, 1863.
Hayter on Drawing.

May 16, 1863 to June 9, 1863.
Hay, Nomenclature of Colors.

May 16, 1863 to June 9, 1863.
Clark, Drawing and Painting.

May 16, 1863 to June 9, 1863.
Nichols..Landscape Drawing.

May 19, 1863 to July 14, 1863.
Harding, Lessons on Art.

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May 27, 1863 to July 14, 1863.
Longfellow, Hiawatha.

June 9, 1863 to July 14, 1863.
Darley, Margaret.

July 2, 1863 to July 14, 1863.
Mollhausen, Pacific. . 2 vols.

July 2, 1863 to July 14, 1863.
Hume, England, vol. 8.

July 2, 1863 to July 14, 1863.
Thornton, Oregon and California, 2 vol.

July 2, 1863 to June 11, 1863.
Parkman, Oregon Trail.

July 2, 1863 to Oct. 4, 1863.
Fremont, Oregon Explorations.

July 14 to Dec. 15, 1863.
Duchess of Orleans.

Mar. 7, 1863 to Jan. 28, 1864.
Oeuvres Hugo 11 3–4.

Mar. 11, 1863 to Mar. 4, 1864.
Kendall, Sante Fe Expedition 2v.

Mar. 11, 1863 to May 5, 1864.
Bartlett, Narrative 2v 8v.

Mar. 11, 1863 to May 5, 1864.
Davis, El Gringo.

Mar. 11, 1863 to Mar. 4, 1864.
Domenech's New Mexico.

Mar. 11, 1863 to Mar. 4, 1864.
Reconaissance in New Mexico

Mar. 20, 1863 to May 31, 1864.
Book on the Rifle.

Mar. 20, 1863 to May 31, 1864.
Stonehenge, on the Rifle.

Mar. 20, 1863 to May 31, 1864.
Wise, Los Gringos.

Dec. 14, 1863 to Jan. 18, 1864.
Macaulay, England, vol. 1 Am. ed.

Dec. 17, 1863 to Feb. 5, 1864.
Macaulay, England, vol. 2, 2.3. Eng. ed.

Jan 18, 1864 to Mar. 2, 1864.
Kingsley, Hypatia.

Jan. 18, 1864, May 5, 1864.
Dickens, Pickwick.

Feb. 19, 1864, June 11, 1864.
Kingsley, Alton Locke.

Feb. 27, 1864, May 5, 1864.
Bancroft, v. 2.

Mar 14, 1864 to June 1, 1864.
Douland, Poems.

Apr. 18, 1864 to Feb. 10, 1864.
Barrett, Lincoln.

Apr. 18, 1864 to Feb. 10, 1864.
Howell's, Lincoln.

May 4, 1864 to May 31, 1864.
Luvine, Les Convents.

May 5, 1864 to May 31, 1864.
Arnauld, Inquisitions, 2v.

May 5, 1864 to May 31, 1864.
Limboiche, Inquisitions 40.

May 5, 1864 to May 31, 1864.
Limboiche, Inquisitions, 10

May 15, 1864 to May 24, 1864.
Cavaliers of England (Stoddard).

May 15, 1864 to May 24, 1864.
Passion Flowers.

June 1, 1864 to Oct. 4, 1864.
Tennyson, Poems, v. 1.

June 20, 1864 to July 11, 1864.
Household Words, v. 18.

Dec. 30, 1861 to May 19, 1864.
Constitution 1783.

Dec. 30, 1861 to May 19, 1864.
Constitution 1856.

Aug. 3, 1863 to May 19, 1864.
Household Words, v. 18.

Aug. 6, 1863 to Apr. 30, 1864.
White's Nat. Hymns.

Aug. 26, 1863 to Apr. 27, 1864.
Bancroft, U. S. v. 3.

Sept. 9, 1863 to Apr. 27, 1864.
Ferial, Mysteries de l'Inquisition.

Sept. 17, 1864 to Oct. 4, 1864.
Kingsley.

Sept. 17, 1864 to Oct. 4, 1864.
Sword and Gown.

Sept. 29, 1864 to Oct. 4, 1864.
Bancroft, U. S. v. 4.

Sept. 29, 1864 to Jan. 10, 1864.
Tennyson, Enoch Arden.

Oct. 9, 1864 to Oct. 28, 1864.
Lampson, Classical Dicty.

Oct. 9, 1864 to Oct. 24, 1864.
Chevalier Kaubland, v. 2.

Oct. 24, 1864 to Dec. 14, 1864.
Casanova, Memoirs, v. 1–3.

Oct. 20, 1863 to Mar. 9, 1864.
Chapman, Homer, 2v.

Oct. 20, 1863 to Mar. 9, 1864.
Chapman, Hesiod, etc.

Oct. 20, 1863 to Mar. 9, 1864.
Hesiod, etc. (Bohn.)

Oct. 20, 1863 to Mar. 9, 1864.
British Poets, v. 88.

Mar. 29, 1864 to Jan. 10, 1864.
Bulwer, The Caxtons.

Mar. 29, 1863 to Dec. 8, 1864.
Hawthorne, Blithedale Romance.

Dec. 7, 1864 to Dec. 12, 1864.
Bancroft, U. S. v. 4.

Dec. 7, 1864 to Dec. 29, 1864.
Hawthorne, Mosses from an Old Manse.

Dec. 12, 1864 to May 19, 1865.
Hawthorne, Snow Image.

Dec. 12, 1864 to Feb. 9, 1865.
Bancroft, Am. Rev. v. b. 7.

Dec. 14, 1864 to Feb. 30, 1865.
Mem. Francais, v. 64.

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Dec. 16, 1864 to Dec. 30, 1864.
Salem Witchcraft.

Dec. 16, 1864 to Dec. 30, 1864.
Upham, Witchcraft.

Dec. 16, 1864 to Dec. 30, 1864.
Whittier, Supernaturalism of N. E.

Dec. 21, 1864 to Mar. 1, 1865.
Lewes, Goethe, 2v.

Jan 5, 1865 to Jan 11, 1865.
Disraeli, Vivian Grey, 4v.

Jan. 7, 1865 to April 24, 1865.
Balzac Oeuvres, v. 10 & 20.

Jan. 7, 1865 to Feb. 6, 1865.
Judd, Margaret, 2v. (J. G. N.)

Jan. 11, 1865 to Feb. 18, 1865.
Disraeli, Contarina Fleming, v. 1-2.

Jan. 23, 1865 to Mar. 1, 1865.
Kingsley's Hypatia, (J. H.)

Jan. 30, 1865 to Feb. 6, 1865.
Austen, Pride, etc.

Jan. 30, 1865 to Feb. 13, 1865.
Goethe, Werke, v. 10.

Feb. 9, 1865 to Feb. 13, 1865.
Goethe, Werke, v. 10.

Feb. 10, 1865 to Feb. 13, 1865.
Schiller, v. 2.

Feb. 18, 1865 to Apr. 27, 1865.
Schlegel, v. 2.

Feb. 22, 1865 to Apr. 27, 1865.
Roget, Thesaurus.

Mar. 1, 1865 to Mar. 18, 1865.
Domini, Art de La Guerre, 2 v. (R. L.)

Mar. 1, 1865 to Mar. 18, 1865.
Domini, Operations Militaire, 2v. (R. L.)

Mar. 1, 1865 to Mar. 18, 1865.
Kingsley, Hypatia, (J. H.)

Mar. 9, 1865 to Apr. 27, 1865.
Shirley (J. H.)

Mar. 13, 1865 to Apr. 25, 1865.
Mitchell, Seven Stories.

Mar. 22, 1865 to May 3, 1865.
Howells, Life of Lincoln.

Mar. 25, 1865 to June 6, 1865.
Fexeter, Tableau Paris, 2v.

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It is evident from the initials following some of the foregoing titles that the Cavaliers of England was drawn and read by William O. Stoddard, who was to have been Lincoln's secretary in the latter's second term; Judd's Margaret by John G. Nicolay; Kingsley's Hypatia by John Hay and Domini's four volumes by Robert Lincoln, who in the spring of 1865 was a member of Grant's staff.

Two hundred and fifty copies of this edition of *What Lincoln Read* have been printed, under the supervision of Otis H. Johnson, at the printing house of The National Capital Press, Incorporated, Washington, D. C., February 12, 1932.

This is Copy Number 37 and is signed by

Alfred Rockwell Wilson